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HON. Z. CHANDLER—HIS SERVICES AND EVENTS OF THE PERIOD.

The retirement of Senator Chandler from the United States Senate, after eighteen years of continuous service, during the most eventful period of the country's history, affords a suitable opportunity for a brief review of his services, as connected with the public events of the period.

Mr. Chandler entered upon his duties in the United States Senate on the 4th of March, 1857, it being a called session of the Senate for the transaction of the executive business incident to the inauguration of James Buchanan and the organization of his administration.

The oath of office was administered to the incoming Senators by Senator James M. Mason, of Virginia, and those taking the oath at the same time were, besides Mr. Chandler, James A. Bayard, of Delaware; Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana; David C. Broderick, of California; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; James Dixon, of Connecticut; James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; and Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio.

Before proceeding with the record of Senator Chandler, it will be instructive to note briefly those who assumed the high duties of United States Senators on that occasion.

James M. Mason, who administered the oath of office, went earnestly into the rebellion against the Government, and achieved a most unenviable notoriety as the representative of the so-called Confederate States at foreign courts, and is since dead.

Jefferson Davis became the chief officer of the Confederacy; failing utterly in that capacity, he is now as little respected, even by his late rebel supporters, as any one among them all.

Jesse D. Bright was expelled from the Senate for disloyalty.

James Dixon followed Andrew Johnson out of the Republican party and has died since his retirement from the Senate.

James A. Bayard, though a Democrat, remained loyal to the Government during the continuance of the war.

James R. Doolittle, a Republican, and loyal during the contest for the preservation of the Union, became an admirer and supporter of President Johnson, and has brought up in the Democratic party.

Charles Sumner remained in the Senate till his death, and never faltered in the support of the principles to which his life had been devoted, though toward the close of his career, he differed with some of his political associates as to the best means of advancing those principles.

Hannibal Hamlin, after serving four years as Vice President, was again returned to the Senate, and has just been again elected for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1875. There has been no wavering in the support he has given the Republican cause.

Simon Cameron, always a true Republican, is still in the Senate, though since 1857 he has served the country both as Secretary of War and Minister to Russia.

Benjamin F. Wade, though retired from

public life, is still as ardent a Republican as ever, and has full faith in the great party which he helped to create and which he served so long and so well.

David C. Broderick was an ardent supporter of Republican principles, and would have made a mark during the great struggle for national unity had he not, unfortunately, fallen in a duel, forced upon him under circumstances which led to the feeling that his death was little different from murder. He may be regarded as one of the first sacrifices to the Union cause.

It is left to the reader to consider the lessons taught by this hasty sketch of the distinguished gentlemen above mentioned.

The Senate organized by the admission of the before-named new Senators contained a decided Democratic majority, and was in harmony with the Administration policy of forcing slavery into the then Territory of Kansas; but it being an executive session, in the absence of the House of Representatives no legislative business could be transacted, and, in fact, none was attempted beyond the formation of the committees, in the construction of which Senator Chandler was assigned a place on the Committee on the District of Columbia. In December, 1857, the Thirty-fifth Congress assembled, there being a Democratic majority in both the Senate and House of Representatives. The exciting topic then before the country was as to the admission of Kansas under a constitution which protected slavery, the measure being urged by the President in his annual message. The majority in each house was under the control of the Southern leaders, who became violent in their abuse of the Republican opponents of the measure.

They sought to take advantage of the sentiment in the North against the duelling system, thinking they could do so with impunity, as the northern Representatives would be deterred from a resort to personal combat in defense of their principles, some of them, as Sumner, Seward, and others, being known to be opposed, on principle, to this mode of conducting a controversy. The assaults of the violent Southern leaders upon some of the ablest and purest Republicans in the Senate,

known to be non-combatants, finally became unbearable to some of the less scrupulous Republicans, until in the midst of one of the most denunciatory tirades of one of the fire-eaters, there was noticed a little group of the lately admitted Republicans in a side consultation on the floor of the Senate. Precisely what was said in that consultation is not known to the writer, nor is it likely that it will transpire during the lifetime of either of the three gentlemen engaged. It is, however, known that the group was composed of Senators Wade, Cameron, and Chandler; that it was agreed between them, substantially, that the business of insulting Republican Senators on the floor of the Senate had gone far enough, and that it *must* cease. And further that in case of any renewed insolence to any other Republican Senator, of the character which had been practiced, it should be the duty of one of the three to take up the quarrel and make it his own, to the full extent of the code—to the death if need be. The compact was not only made, but was signed and sealed and remains sealed to this day. Its import, however, became known, and the demeanor of the Southern fire-eaters, though still violent and disloyal, soon after became courteous, personally, toward Republican Senators.

They did, however, feel around a little to ascertain whether the whisperings as to the fighting Senators could be relied upon. They had a scheme to assault Senator Chandler in the street, but a little inquiry as to his strength and skill led to its sudden abandonment. A blustering Southerner took offense at the remarks of Senator Wade, who had said, in relation to a statement made by him, that such a statement could only come from a liar or a coward. Of course this could not be borne by the high-toned cavalier, and his friend or agent or servitor called on Senator Wade, not with a formal challenge, but to ascertain how Wade would probably act in the event of a challenge. As soon as Wade pierced the diplomacy of the agent, so far as to become aware of his purpose, he told him to tell the d——d old coward that he dare not fight. This was not quite satisfactory; the agent or spy seemed anxious to know what

kind of weapons Wade would choose in case of a contest. On learning this, Wade said, rifles at twenty paces, with a white paper the size of a dollar pinned over the heart of each combatant, and tell him if I do not hit the one on his breast at the first shot, he may fire at me all day.

These inquiries seemed to cure all further desire on the part of the chivalry for personal combats. Threats, however, continued to be made of street assaults and caning, generally pointing to the more prominent of the non-combatants in the Republican ranks.

Certain of the Republicans went thoroughly armed all the time, and these, for weeks together, took turns in walking with their non-belligerent colleagues to and from the Capitol to protect them from personal assault.

The foregoing facts give but a faint idea of the feeling which existed at the national capital during the pendency of the exciting discussions which preceded the rebellion. But even this brief recital will call to the minds of the participants and of the careful observers of the events of that time much that has not been and never will be written.

CUBA AND KANSAS.

During the first regular session of the Senate after Mr. Chandler became a member the Democratic majority was urging the adoption of two measures in the interest of the slave power; these were, the acquisition of Cuba and the admission of Kansas as a slave State. The following is a brief synopsis of the remarks of Senator Chandler on these questions.

KANSAS.

During the first session of the Thirty-fifth Congress, the question of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution was one of the most prominent that engaged the attention of Congress and the country. Senator Chandler, on the 12th of March, 1858, made a powerful and unanswerable speech against the proposition. He began by saying: "Mr. President, it was not my intention originally to participate in the debate on the Lecompton constitution. I had intended to leave the subject to older and abler and more experienced colleagues, but the occasion seems to me to be so great and the con-

sequences which may result from our decision so dangerous, that I cannot permit this bill to pass without at least entering my protest against it.

"I shall oppose this bill for the following reasons: First, because the whole matter was conceived and executed in fraud; second, because this constitution does not emanate from the people of Kansas Territory, or express their will; third, because it is one of a series of aggressions on the part of the slave power, which, if permitted to be consummated, must end in the subversion of the Constitution and the Union; and fourth, because it strikes a death blow at State sovereignty and popular rights."

He then proceeded to review the policy and action of the Government in relation to the slavery question from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the last and most flagrant attempt of the slave power, governing the country in the name of Democracy, to force their obnoxious institution into the free Territory of Kansas. He showed that the ordinance of 1787 was adopted as a compromise measure and was regarded by all as a final settlement of the slavery question, and that it was the intention to consider the settlement as embracing these features. That slavery was a creature of municipal law; that it was left to the States in which it then existed to continue it or to abolish it, as they might severally see fit; that in all the Territories of the United States it was forever prohibited. Instead of a final settlement of the slavery question it was merely the basis of a truce, until such time as the slave power might have the power or disposition to extend slavery into new Territories. Louisiana was purchased and admitted as a slave State, but the country was comparatively quiet until the proposition was made by Southern Representatives to admit Missouri under a constitution permitting slavery. The whole country was greatly agitated over this question. The South threatened a dissolution of the Union unless their demand was complied with. Finally another compromise was agreed upon, and designated as a final settlement of the vexed question. Again the subject was reopened by the bad faith, the

unholy purpose of the slave drivers to annul the Missouri compromise and bring into the Union a slave State carved out of territory that had been, by fair implication, twice solemnly dedicated and reserved for free labor by free men.

CUBA.

On the 17th of February, 1859, when the bill for the acquisition of the island of Cuba was under consideration, Senator Chandler said: "Mr. President, this is a most extraordinary proposition to be presented to the Congress of the United States at this time. With a Treasury bankrupt, and the Government borrowing money to pay its daily expenses and no efficient remedy proposed for that state of things; with your great national works in the Northwest going to decay and no money to repair them; without harbors of refuge for your commerce, and no money to construct them; with a national debt of \$70,000,000, which is increasing in a time of profound peace, at the rate of \$30,000,000 per annum, the Senate of the United States is startled by a proposition to borrow \$30,000,000. And for what, sir? To pay just claims against the Government, which have been long deferred? No, sir; you have no money for any such purpose as that. Is it to repair your national works on the northwestern lakes, to repair your harbors, to rebuild your light-houses? No, sir; you have no money for that. Is it to build a railroad to the Pacific, connecting the eastern and western slopes of this continent by bands of iron and open up the vast interior of the continent to settlement? No, sir; you say that is unconstitutional. What, then, do you propose to do with this \$30,000,000? Is it to purchase the island of Cuba? No, sir; for you are already advised in advance that Spain will not sell the island; more, sir, you are advised in advance that she will take a proposition for its purchase as a national insult, to be rejected with scorn and contempt. The action of her Cortes and of her government, on the reception of the President's message, proves this beyond all controversy. What, then, do you propose to do with this \$30,000,000? I ask any friend of the measure what he proposes to do with the money."

He proceeded to say that this was a proposition to stave off the impending defeat of the Democratic party. That the Democratic party was becoming unpopular at the north; that its principles were gone, its occupation gone, for the Treasury was bankrupt, and there was nothing in it to be stolen. A new issue was to be raised to attract the attention of the country from past extravagant expenditures and present bankruptcy. "Cuba is to be the cry in the next Presidential election, and \$30,000,000 is to be the inducement to cry loud and long."

It is needless to add that Cuba was not acquired, nor was Kansas admitted until she knocked at the door of the Union with a free constitution and loyal Representatives.

COMMERCE—HARBOR AND RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

It is well known that the policy of the Democratic party had been uniformly adverse to this class of improvement, and that when, in rare instances, such policy had been relaxed, it was invariably in behalf of the populous districts bordering the Atlantic coast, or that favored section represented by the slave-holding aristocracy which controlled the Democratic party and, consequently, Congress and the Administration.

Up to this time the great Northwest, with its teeming and thrifty population, its magnificent rivers and immense extent of Lake coast and vast and growing commerce, had been almost wholly neglected, or, as many believed, ignored in consequence of the strong anti-slavery sentiment of that section.

Early after Mr. Chandler's entrance into the Senate he commenced a vigorous movement, not only to secure recognition for the Northwest, but also to change the policy of the Government from that of neglecting to that of fostering and aiding internal commerce.

One of the first measures introduced by him was a bill to deepen the channel across the St. Clair flats. This was soon followed by a resolution authorizing a survey of the St. Mary's river, with a view to opening a better navigation to the Lake Superior mineral region, and supplying a practicable pathway for the commerce of the States bordering that great inland sea. In speaking

of these measures he said : The Senate had voted \$800,000 for water works in the District of Columbia without Constitutional authority, half a million to be expended in looking for sand bars on the Atlantic coast ; and for the Northwest, with an annual commerce of more than five hundred millions, the magnificent sum of four thousand dollars, concluding with the following unmistakable and characteristic notice :

"I want to see who is friendly to the great Northwest, and who is not ; for we are about making our last prayer here. The time is not far distant when, instead of coming here and begging for our rights, we shall extend our hands and *take* the blessing. After 1860, we shall not be here as beggars."

True to their traditional policy, the Democratic Congress and Administration opposed and defeated these propositions for the time being. But the persistence of Senator Chandler finally forced upon the Government a partial recognition of these great interests, even before the Democracy had yielded control. Space will not allow even a brief quotation from the numerous and vigorous speeches made by the Senator in behalf of the policy he had espoused, nor more than an allusion to the bitterness with which it was denounced by the Southern leaders then in the Senate.

In the formation of the committees at the first session of the Thirty-fifth Congress the Democratic majority of the Senate, in pursuance of its general policy, practically ignored the Northwest, and Senator Chandler, ever watchful of the interests of that section, which he in part represented, offered a vigorous protest to the arrangement, in which he said :

"I rise, sir, to protest against the list of committees as presented here. Never before in the whole course of my observation have I seen a large minority ignored in a legislative body on important committees ; but, sir, whom and what does this minority represent ? It represents, I believe I am correct in saying, more than half, certainly nearly one-half, of all the free white inhabitants in the United States ; it represents two-thirds of all the commerce of the United States ; and yet this minority, representing the commerce and revenues of the nation, is expected to be satisfied with one place on the tail end of the Committee on Commerce, composed of seven

members. I may almost say that that committee is of more importance to the Northwest than all the other committees of this body, but that section is totally ignored upon a committee in the action of which its people take so deep an interest. Sir, we are not satisfied, and we desire to enter our protest against any such formation of the committees as is here proposed."

It was thus that at every step the Northwest, through Senator Chandler, asserted its rights and proclaimed its rising power. The appeal, however, was in vain on this occasion, and the committee constituted without a representative from the Northwest. But the contest had attracted the attention of the country, and at the next session Senator Chandler himself was placed on the Committee on Commerce, where he continued during the whole period of his public service, becoming chairman as soon as the Republicans attained a majority in the Senate.

Through his efforts in this important position, the sentiment of every section, in favor of extending the fostering care of the Government in aid of internal commerce, was consolidated and organized until it bore down all opposition and completely reversed the general policy and practice of the Government. It should be admitted that Republicans from other sections of the Union came cordially to the support of this new and beneficent national policy, at the same time, it is not too much to say, that he found his most able and ardent supporters among his colleagues in either house from the great Northwest.

It is not the purpose in this review to enumerate the vast number of important improvements projected and completed under this policy of the Republican party. The evidences of their utility and extent are seen on every hand, are scattered along our seaboard, along our extended Lake coast, and are upon all our rivers. The beneficent effect of these improvements is demonstrated by our vastly increased and increasing commerce, its greater safety, the economy with which the work is performed, the extraordinary development of our agricultural and mineral resources, and the increased compensation of productive labor.

Without claiming for Senator Chandler

more than his fair share of this great work, it is not too much to say that to him as much as to any other man is due the progress of this great material interest during the last eighteen years. What that progress has been may be ascertained by comparing the present condition of the country and people with their condition at the close of the dominating career of the Democratic party.

FULFILLING A PLEDGE.

It having come to the knowledge of Senator Chandler that Fitz John Porter had applied to the President for a rehearing of his case and restoration to his former rank in the army of the United States, Mr. Chandler, on the 21st of February, 1870, addressed the Senate as follows :

Mr. CHANDLER. I offer the following resolution, and I shall crave the indulgence of the Senate to make a few explanatory remarks, and perhaps I had better do so before the resolution is read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Michigan offers a resolution.

Mr. SUMNER. Let the resolution be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows :

"Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate, if in his judgment not inconsistent with the public interest, any recent correspondence or information in his possession in relation to the case of Fitz John Porter."

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I hold in my hand the "appeal to the President of the United States for a re-examination of the proceedings of the general court-martial in his case, by Major General Fitz John Porter, with accompanying documents." Mr. Porter says, in the beginning, that his application to the President is—

"First. To remit the sentence of the court-martial now in force against me of disqualification 'forever to hold any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.'

"Second. To be nominated to the Senate for restoration to my rank in the army, under the late act of Congress allowing that mode of redress of wrong by a court-martial."

He says in this "appeal:"

"It is matter of general information that the allegations against me were inspired by the failure of General Pope's campaign in Virginia. His friends undertook to maintain that he committed no error, and to attribute the result of his operations to the defection and treasonable misconduct of certain officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac who preferred to be commanded by General McClellan."

Mr. President, it seems to me that the time has come when the truth of history should be vindicated while there are living witnesses to testify in the case. Many of those who were conversant with the campaign of General Pope in Virginia and the case of Fitz John Porter have passed from the stage. President Lincoln and Mr. Stanton were the two men in the nation who most thoroughly understood all the facts in that case. General Wadsworth, who at that time commanded the defenses of Washington, was taken into consultation, and was pretty thoroughly conversant with the facts.

But, Mr. President, it became my duty, in an official capacity, as a member of the committee on the conduct of the war, to investigate personally all these facts. Two of the members of the committee have passed away; and the two that remain who were, perhaps, more conversant with them than any other two men now living are ex-Senator from Ohio, Mr. Wade, and myself. By permission of the Senate, I propose, as briefly as possible, to state these facts.

I am induced to do so for another reason. About seven years ago to-day, upon yonder sofa in this Chamber, I made a voluntary pledge to Major General Pope that justice should be done to him and to his campaign in the valley of Virginia, even although I were called upon to vindicate him from my seat in the Senate. Seven years have passed away, and many who were then conversant with the facts have gone to their final rest; and now I desire an opportunity, as briefly as possible, to fulfill that voluntary pledge upon my part.

Most Senators present are aware of the state of intense excitement which existed after General McClellan's command retired to Turkey Bend on the James river. The country was demoralized; the premium on gold rose to an enormous height, and at the same time our bonds fell until it seemed that no bottom could be found. Unless that army of General McClellan's, then cornered up in Turkey Bend, were saved it seemed as though the country was lost.

Before that time General Pope had been called to take command of the "Army of Virginia." And here, sir, I must express my regret that I have so long delayed this act of justice. I regret that I did not say what I am about to say seven years ago; but how could I or any other man suppose that so many of the then living witnesses would pass from the stage? General Pope says:

"It was the wish of the Government that I should cover the city of Washington from any attacks from the direction of Richmond, make such dispositions as were necessary to assure the safety of the valley of the Shenandoah, and at the same time so operate

upon the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Gordonsville and Charlottesville as to draw off, if possible, a considerable force of the enemy from Richmond, and thus relieve the operations against that city of the Army of the Potomac."

This was while the army of the Potomac still lay in front of Richmond; but a few days later those instructions were somewhat changed. And here permit me to say that during those dark days on one Sabbath afternoon I called at the War Office accidentally. I there found Mr. Stanton, General Wadsworth, the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. WILSON,] and perhaps one other person. The question under discussion was that which exercised the public mind universally, not only here but throughout the country, "How can Major General McClellan's army be saved?" I remember the remarks of General Wadsworth on that occasion. This was simply an accidental conversation, and I give what General Wadsworth then said as the judgment of an eminent man then living. He said: "It seems to me there are four ways to save that army. The first would be for it to advance immediately upon Richmond. Had it done so instantly after the battle of Malvern, I believe"—I am giving the words of General Wadsworth—"it would have gone to Richmond without the loss of a thousand men; but that army is demoralized, and I doubt very much whether it will be safe to order that advance. The second would be for it to fight its way down to Yorktown; but this would be likewise a hazardous undertaking, as it would have a victorious army of the enemy on its front, flank, and rear, and it must necessarily lose a large amount of baggage, perhaps artillery, and many men. The third would be to assemble steamboats enough at Harrison's Landing in one night to take on board all the men, with all the small-arms of the army, abandon the artillery and baggage-trains, and save your men; but this would incur an immense loss of material, which would be of great benefit to the rebels. The fourth would be to use our army here to create as great a diversion as possible, and thus aid General McClellan in getting his army away." This fourth proposition was substantially adopted by the Administration, as you will see by General Pope's after statement. He says—mark you, this was a few days before he started on his memorable campaign:

"The mission of the army under my command, therefore, was to cover, as far as possible, the front of Washington, and make secure the valley of the Shenandoah, and so operate upon the enemy's lines of communication to the west and northwest as to force him to make such heavy detachments from

his main force at Richmond as would enable the Army of the Potomac to withdraw from its position at Harrison's Landing, and to take shipping for Aquia Creek, or for Alexandria. If, as was feared, the enemy should throw his whole force in the direction of Washington, it became my duty to resist his advance at all hazards, and so to delay and embarrass his movements as to gain all the time possible for the arrival of the Army of the Potomac behind the Rappahannock."

At this very time General Pope was beginning to be relieved from the command of this army. He says:

"Many circumstances, which it is not necessary here to set forth, induced me to express to the President, to the Secretary of War, and to General Halleck, my desire to be relieved from the command of the Army of Virginia, and to be returned to the western country."

This request was made over and over again by General Pope, but never was acceded to. His object, and his sole object in commencing that campaign, was to relieve and help save, if possible, the Army of the Potomac. A few days before he marched we requested him to appear before the Committee on the Conduct of the War. The question was put to him, "What is your force?" and he said about forty-two or forty-three thousand men. He said precisely what is contained in the statement I have just read.

Here I ought to say that that small force of forty-two thousand men was scattered from Aquia Creek to Harper's Ferry, guarding a line of perhaps more than one hundred miles, and scattered through Western Virginia; and it was never possible for General Pope to concentrate more than thirty thousand men at any one point and keep up his line. I asked him "What is to prevent you from being struck by a superior force of the enemy and overwhelmed?" Said he, "Nothing on earth is more probable than that I shall be struck by a superior force and shall be whipped; but I will keep my troops near the mountains, and there are no ten miles where there is not a gulch up which I can take my men and small arms, and by abandoning my artillery and baggage, save my men; I shall probably be whipped; but it must be done." Any military man can see and appreciate the difficulties and responsibilities of so desperate a campaign. "Yet," said he, "it must be done."

Well, sir, General Pope started on that campaign. Had he announced to the newspaper press of Washington or of the North the number of his men or his object the object itself would have been defeated. General Pope did what I believe is allowable in war: he perpetrated a *ruse de guerre*. He sent his scouts all through the mountains of

Virginia proclaiming that he had an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. And, sir, he fooled the newspaper correspondents of the city of Washington and of the whole North. General Pope, when he started on that campaign, had no more idea of going to Richmond than he had of following Elijah to heaven in a chariot of fire without seeing death. He started with one single object, and that was to save the army of McClellan, or to do all that was in his power to save it. He massed his troops, and that terrible battle of Cedar Mountain was fought; and by that battle he not only fooled the people of this country, but he fooled the rebels. The rebels believed that he had one hundred and twenty thousand men, and that unless they fought him and crushed him before he could unite with the Army of the Potomac their cause was lost; and he drew upon his shoulders with that little force the whole rebel army, so that when McClellan started for Yorktown there was not even a popgun fired at his troops. Not a rebel soldier was seen from the time he started from Turkey Bend until he embarked his troops. The ruse was a perfect success, and as I told General Pope then, "I consider that your campaign has been one of the most brilliant that has been fought up to this time," which was February, 1863; "you saved two armies; you first saved the Army of the Potomac, and then you saved your own."

Sir, General Pope fought for eleven days, fought night and day, fought the whole rebel army with his little force, his force never having exceeded seventy thousand men, comprising not simply his own army, but also General Burnside's forces and the twenty thousand men who had in thirty days been brought up from the army of the Potomac, and of whom Porter's corps was part. The force which he had met with these was that originally in his front, but overwhelmingly augmented by that rebel force from which McClellan, with his ninety thousand men, had had to be delivered by a demonstration in their rear. He fought for time. He defended every brook, every barn, every piece of woods, every ravine. He fought for time for the Army of the Potomac to reach him and unite with him, so as to crush the advancing and overwhelming force of the rebels.

Following this introduction, Senator Chandler presented a perfect magazine of facts and official documents, bearing upon the conduct of Porter and proving beyond question that the only fault which could be justly found with the court-martial which tried him was the leniency of the punishment imposed. These documents ought to be reproduced here, but we have not the space for them.

It might have been added in defense of the court that the punishment awarded was as severe as it was thought President Lincoln, with his great kindness of heart, would be willing to approve.

The Senator closed his remarks on this subject as follows:

Mr. President, if I had more time I should like to go more fully into this subject; but I cannot. The court, after forty-five days spent in careful investigation, brought in unanimously the verdict against Porter. Many of the members of that court were in favor of sentencing him to suffer death. It is rumored, and many believe, that the only reason the death penalty was not inflicted was the fear that Mr. Lincoln, whose kindness of heart was so well known, would not execute the sentence; and hence they unanimously brought in the verdict they did. It was first carefully examined and reviewed by Mr. Holt, the Judge Advocate General; it was then examined *seriatim* by the then Secretary of War and by the President. No more just tribunal ever investigated a case, I presume to assert, than this tribunal, and there its finding stands.

It may be asked, how came it that a misunderstanding almost as universal as complete was suffered to be put upon the country? General Pope himself says:

"The next day it [my report] was delivered to General Halleck, but by that time influences of questionable character, and transactions of most unquestionable impropriety, which were well known at the time, had entirely changed the purposes of the authorities. It is not necessary, and perhaps would scarcely be in place, for me to recount these things."

It is as well known to others present as to me that during that gloomy, eventful Sunday which succeeded the last battle on Saturday, the 30th of August, the President and Mr. Stanton were overrun and "overcome with statements that unless McClellan was restored to command 'the army would not fight.'

These statements came from men who did not mean it should fight, who could not in the exigency of the moment be displaced. The President was able afterward to relieve McClellan and court-martial Porter. Had he lived he would have seen justice to General Pope awarded also. It remains for me, while I live, to do my portion of that duty.

There is one other point to which I wish to allude. During this very trial, during the very pendency of the trial, Fitz John Porter said in the presence of my informant, who is a man that most of you know, and who is to-day in the employment of Congress,

and whose word I would take as soon as I would most men's—though I told him I would not use his name, but I will give his sworn testimony, taken down within two minutes after the utterance was made—Fitz John Porter said in his presence, "I was not true to Pope, and there is no use in denying it."

Mr. President, what was "not true to Pope?" If he was not true to Pope, whom was he true to? Being true to Pope was being true to the country; "not true to Pope" was being a traitor to the country. Sir, "not true to Pope" meant the terrific fight of the 30th of August, with all the blood and all the horrors of that bitter day; "not true to Pope" meant the battle of Antietam, with its thousands of slain and its other thousands maimed; "not true to Pope" meant the first battle of Fredericksburg, with its twenty thousand slain and maimed; "not true to Pope" covered the battles of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor and all the dreadful battles that followed. Had Fitz John Porter been true to his Government, Jackson would have been destroyed on the 29th of August, and on the 30th the rebels could scarcely have offered any resistance to our victorious army. "Not true to Pope" meant three hundred thousand slain and two thousand millions of additional dollars expended.

Sir, I wish to put this on the record for all time, that it may remain. Let Fitz John Porter thank God that he yet lives, and that he was not living at that time under a military government. I told General Pope, in the first interview I had with him, that I had but one fault to find in the whole conduct of the campaign. He asked, "What is that?" Said I, "That you ever allowed Fitz John Porter to leave that battle-field alive!"

And this is the same Fitz John Porter whom the home-rule Democracy of New York city have imported from New Jersey to fill one of the best offices at their disposal!

THE COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

This important committee, which was one of the most effective civic organizations in aid of the Executive and the Army that was constituted during the war, was raised on the motion of Senator Chandler. The original resolution offered by him led to quite a lengthy and a very interesting debate, and after undergoing such modifications as to require the appointment of a joint committee of the two houses, three on the part of the Senate and four by the House, was adopted by the decisive vote of yeas 33, nays 3. Those voting in the negative were Senators

Carlisle, Latham, and Rice, all Democrats—all of the Republicans and several Democratic Senators voting for the resolution.

On the 17th of December, 1861, and after the resolution had been adopted by both houses, Mr. Chandler moved that the President of the Senate be authorized to appoint the committee on the part of the Senate, and said: "I do not know what the parliamentary usage may be in a case of this kind. If that usage would give me the position of chairman of that committee, I wish to say that, under the circumstances, I do not wish to accept it." The motion was agreed to, and Mr. Wade, Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, were appointed on the part of the Senate.

The debate on this measure discloses the fact that the movement was regarded as a very important one by Congress, and the writer knows that the Administration so regarded it also, and was not without fear that it was an unfriendly measure. A member of the Cabinet expressed such fears to the writer, and said that the President had not only expressed doubts as to the wisdom of the movement, but also fears that the committee might, by unfriendly action, greatly embarrass the Executive. On being told by the writer that the measure was not so intended, but, on the contrary, that it was the intention of the mover to bring the committee to the aid of the Administration, he expressed much gratification, and said it was of the utmost importance to bring such purpose to the knowledge of the President in some authoritative way, and at the earliest moment possible. This conversation was at once reported to Senator Chandler, whereupon both he and Senator Wade went immediately to the President and the Secretary of War, and assured them that it was their purpose to bring the whole power of the committee to the aid of the Executive. From this moment the most cordial relations existed between the committee and the Administration.

The pertinacity with which the committee pursued its work, both during the sessions and the recess of Congress, is well known to the country, and need not be enlarged upon

here. It is sufficient to say that this committee did more than any other agency in bringing to the attention of the Executive the actual derelictions in camp and field, and in weeding out unwilling and incompetent officers.

The files and records of the committee were at all times at the service of the Administration, and their reports are monuments of firmness, perseverance, and industry unsurpassed in any other branch of the public service.

It was upon the facts elicited before this committee that the great speech of Senator Chandler, exposing the utter imbecility and unfitness of Gen. McClellan as a field commander was based—a speech which it required great temerity to make, and which was regarded at the time by many as unwise and by some as unpatriotic, and which drew upon him the fire of the Democratic leaders and press throughout the country; and yet a speech which time and events have justified, and which led to an earnest and vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. All the facts of the speech were, of course, well known to the committee, and had been communicated to the President, but they were not known generally to the country, and McClellan had so intrenched himself in the affections of the army, and was so much the idol of the public, especially the Democratic portion of the people, that the President, through over-caution mainly, but partially through fear of the General's popularity with the army, hesitated and delayed, notwithstanding the waste of men and means daily going on under his own observation. Both the President and the public were heartsick with the tardiness of McClellan, but they, with most other loyal men, hesitated to give expression to their distrust; in fact, both individuals and papers continued to proclaim their confidence long after confidence was lost, fearful that the announcement of their true opinions would encourage the enemies or discourage the friends of the Union.

It was at this period, and with a pall resting upon the country, that Senator Chandler determined to break the spell. Having pre-

pared his speech, he presented its facts, with his arraignment of McClellan, to a friend, and submitted the question as to his duty under all the circumstances. His friend observed, Beyond question these facts ought to be laid before the country; they are essential to its safety; but they will create a storm that will sweep either you or McClellan from public life, and it is more than probable that you will be the victim. The Senator's reply was wholly in character. He said, I did not ask your opinion of the consequences, but what is my duty. To this it was replied, The speech ought to be made, and no one else will make it. He answered, The speech will be made this evening; come and hear it. The speech was made. It was listened to with most profound attention. Its effect upon the war and the sentiment of the country is now in history, and need not be repeated here; but we give the following brief extracts, as indicating the earnestness and thoroughness of the work:

"The battle of Bull Run seems to have been the culminating point of the rebellion. Up to that time the North hardly seemed to appreciate the fact that we were in the midst of war, that a gigantic and wicked rebellion was shaking the very foundation stones of our political institutions, that the rebels meant a bloody fratricidal war. The firing upon Sumter was considered rather the action of a frenzied mob than the fixed, determined intent to break up and destroy the best government the world had ever seen. That battle left the enemies of the country masters of the field and virtually besiegers of the capital. Rebellion had triumphed, and the nations of the earth believed the Republic was tottering to its fall. Our securities became valueless outside our borders, and our armies to be raised were considered *men in buckram*. Not so the brave and loyal millions of the North. They knew that the resources of the North had not been touched, that the battle of Bull Run was but an insignificant skirmish without results to either side, and forthwith began to put forth their mighty energies.

"Up to this time the earnestness of this rebellion had not been appreciated by the

North." He then proceeds to review the causes of that disaster to the Army of the Potomac, after the following statement of its numerical strength and location of its divisions: "The Army of the Potomac at that time was composed of two columns, one under Patterson at Martinsburg, consisting of a force of about twenty thousand effective men of all arms, the other under McDowell, of about thirty-five thousand, and a reserve in Washington, Lieutenant General Scott in command of all." Referring to the orders of General Scott to General Patterson to make demonstrations so as to hold the rebel army under Johnston in the Valley of Winchester, he said: "Had these orders been obeyed Johnston could never have joined Beauregard, had Johnston not joined Beauregard the battle of Bull Run would have been but a skirmish between forces greatly unequal, and the army of the South would have been destroyed. The failure, therefore, of Patterson to hold Johnston was the primal cause of that inglorious defeat." "The second cause of this disaster was the failure to attack on Friday, before the arrival of the enemy's re-enforcements, instead of on Sunday, during which they arrived."

The third was "the delay of the whole army for three hours on Sunday morning in consequence of the delay of Keyes' brigade in Tyler's division in getting into the assigned position." This fatal delay of three hours enabled the rebel General Johnston to reach the field just in time to turn the tide of battle.

"The advancing of our batteries one thousand yards without adequate support, and the unfortunate mistaking of a rebel regiment for the batteries' support, was the fourth cause of that disaster. If these guns had not been captured and turned upon our own troops, the strong probabilities are that we should at least have held the field, and that no panic would have ensued." Fifth. "The failure to bring the reserves into action at the critical moment. The reason assigned was an insufficient staff and a lack of discipline by brigades." "The foregoing I believe to be the true and only reasons for the loss of the battle of Bull Run." These reasons were

based on the testimony taken by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and that they were true and well founded is one of the best attested facts in history. "The discouragement and depression of feeling among the loyal people of the North was of brief duration. Volunteers from the East, the West, the North, and the Middle States came pouring in to recruit the shattered ranks of the Union army until the Government said hold, enough. The Army of the Potomac, denuded in August of the three months men, scarcely numbered fifty thousand efficient men, swelled in September to over one hundred thousand, in October to one hundred and fifty thousand, in November to one hundred and seventy-five thousand and upward, until, on the 10th of December the morning rolls showed one hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred men, besides thirteen regiments chiefly intended for the Burnside expedition, but all under the command of General McClellan. During the months of October, November, and December the weather was delightful, and the roads fine. The question began to be asked in October, When will the advance take place? All had the most unbounded confidence in the army and its young general, and were anxiously waiting for a Napoleonic stroke. It came; but such a stroke. That a general movement was being prepared the whole country had known for weeks, but when the terrific blow was to be struck no one knew save the commander of the Army of the Potomac. The nation believed in its young commander; the President relied upon him, and all, myself included, had the most unbounded confidence in the result of the intended movement.

"It came. On the 21st of October McCall's division, twelve thousand strong, was ordered to Dranesville upon a reconnaissance. Smith's division, twelve thousand strong, was ordered to support him. * * * At two o'clock on Monday morning Colonel Derens crossed the river upon a reconnaissance with four hundred men at Balls Bluff, opposite Harrison's Island, as directed by General Stone. At daylight Colonel Baker was ordered to cross to the support of Colonel Derens. I have read his orders. One scow

and two small boats were their only means of transportation. At eight o'clock on Monday morning the fight was commenced by Colonel Derens, and Colonel Baker was placed in command, as is alleged, with discretionary orders.

"Colonel Baker knew that Smith and McCall were at Dranesville or within striking distance, that our troops were crossing at Edwards' Ferry, or, in other words, that forty thousand effective men were within twelve miles of him, and at least thirty thousand were upon the Virginia side of the Potomac, and that in the nature of things he must be re-enforced. He did not know that at half past ten A. M. on Monday, or two and one half hours after Colonel Derens commenced the fight, the divisions of Smith and McCall commenced their retreat by the express orders of General McClellan. He knew that Colonel Derens was contending with greatly superior forces, and, like a gallant soldier as he was, he hastened to his relief with all the force he could cross with his inadequate means of transportation. Colonel Baker has been charged with imprudence and rashness, but neither the facts nor the testimony support the charge. Instead of rashly or imprudently advancing into the enemy's lines as was alleged he did not move ten rods from the Bluff. The only sustaining witness to this charge was one officer, who swore that he thought Colonel Baker imprudently exposed himself to the enemies' bullets. This kind of rashness is usually pardoned after the death of the perpetrator." Then follows a description of the battle, as it is usually termed, of Balls Bluff, where Colonel Baker, with eighteen hundred men under his command, including Derens' men and three light field pieces, bravely fought the overwhelming forces of the enemy until the early dark of evening, when the gallant Colonel Baker fell pierced by three bullets, and instantly expired.

Then followed an attempted retreat of our few remaining brave but overpowered men to the river at Edwards' Ferry, where the rout and massacre closed the unfortunate day and the campaign of the Army of the Potomac in that quarter. After this melancholy disaster to our arms the Army of the

Potomac, consisting of more than one hundred and fifty thousand men, was retired from all points excepting directly in front of Washington, where it remained stationary for many months. In October following the Navy Department applied for four thousand men to hold Matthias Point after the enemy should have been shelled from it by the gun-boats, and thus keep open the navigation of the Potomac. General McClellan agreed to furnish the men, and twice the time was fixed for their embarkation. Transports were ready with steam up and everything in readiness on the part of the Navy Department, but the expected troops did not arrive, and thus for months was the Potomac river blockaded by rebel batteries, the transportation of supplies to the capital of the nation and the Army of the Potomac by this route cut off, and many millions of dollars wasted in expensive transportation which a small force, judiciously posted, might have prevented. Mr. Chandler said: "Why was this disgrace so long submitted to? No man knows or attempts to explain. Month after month one of the most splendid armies the world had ever seen, of two hundred thousand men, permitted itself and the national capital to be besieged by a force *never* exceeding one half its own number. During the month of December the nation became impatient. The time had arrived and passed when we were promised a forward movement. The roads were good, the weather splendid, the army in high condition and eager for the fray. How long the roads and the weather would permit the movement no man could predict; still there was no movement. The generals with great unanimity declared that the army had reached its maximum of proficiency as volunteers, but still there was no movement. Under these circumstances the Committee on the Conduct of the War asked an interview with the President and Cabinet, and urged that the winter should not be permitted to pass without action, as it would lead to an incalculable loss of life and treasure by forcing our brave troops into a summer campaign in a hot and, to them, unhealthful climate. The President and Cabinet were united in the desire that an imme-

date advance should be made, but it was not made, although we were assured by General McClellan that it would be, very soon; that he had no intention of going into winter quarters, and he did not. While the enemy erected comfortable huts at Centreville and Manassas for their winter quarters, our brave and eager troops spent the most uncomfortable winter ever known in this climate under canvas. * * On the first day of January, 1862, and for months previous to that date, the armies of the Republic were occupying a purely defensive position upon the whole line from Missouri to the Atlantic, until on or about the 27th of January the President and Secretary of War issued the order, '*forward!*' Then the brave Foote took the initiative, soliciting two thousand men from Halleck to hold Fort Henry after he had captured it with his gunboats. They were promptly furnished, and Henry fell; then Donelson, with its fifteen thousand prisoners; then Newbern, and the country was electrified. Credit was given where credit was due. Do-nothing strategy gave way to an 'immediate advance upon the enemy's works,' and the days of spades and pickaxes seemed to be ended. On the 22d of February a forward movement upon our whole line was ordered, but did not take place. The Army of the Potomac was not ready; but on the 10th of March it moved, against the protest of the commanding general and eight out of twelve of the commanders of divisions; but the President was inexorable and the movement must be made. It proceeded to Centreville, and there found deserted huts, wooden artillery, and intrenchments which could be successfully charged by cavalry. It proceeded to Manassas and found no fortifications worthy of the name, a deserted, abandoned camp, and dead horses for trophies. The enemy, less than forty thousand men, had leisurely escaped, carrying away all his artillery, baggage, arms, and stores. Our Army of the Potomac on that 10th day of March showed by its muster rolls a force of two hundred and thirty thousand men. Comment is needless. The grand Army of the Potomac proceeded toward Gordonsville, found no enemy, repaired the railroad, and then marched back again."

"Why this grand Army of the Potomac did not march upon Richmond has never been satisfactorily explained, and probably never will be. One reason assigned was lack of transportation; but there were two railroads, one by way of Aquia Creek and Fredericksburg, the other *via* Manassas and Gordonsville, which could have been repaired at the rate of ten miles per day, and our army was ample to guard it. Had this overwhelming force proceeded directly to Richmond by these lines it would have spent the 1st day of May in Richmond, and ere this the rebellion would have been ended. This grand army, *ably* commanded, was superior to any army the world has seen for five hundred years. Napoleon the First never fought one hundred and thirty thousand men upon one battle field. This noble army was divided and virtually sacrificed by some one. Who is the culprit?" Previous to the advance upon the wooden guns at Centreville General McClellan explained one of his strategic plans, and demanded that he be permitted to carry it out.

Instead of a direct advance upon Richmond, or in that direction, or a plan to open the blockade of the Potomac river, he proposed to take the bulk of the Army of the Potomac to Annapolis by land, there to embark upon transports to proceed to the rear of the enemy and surprise him. Senator Chandler said that "in the council of war called upon this proposition, the commanding general and eight out of twelve of the commanders of divisions, (and here permit me to say that seven of the eight generals were appointed upon the recommendation of General McClellan,) voted that it was not safe to advance upon Centreville, and to adopt the new plan of campaign." The plan of McClellan and his generals was overruled by the President and Secretary of War, and a movement of the army in the direction of the enemy was ordered. At Fairfax, General McClellan decided not to proceed by land further in that direction toward Richmond, but to return to Alexandria, divide his army, and embark the larger portion for Fortress Monroe and Yorktown.

It was decided that forty-five thousand

men should be left for the defense of the capital, but instead of leaving what was deemed an adequate force for the defense of Washington, with its vast accumulation of military stores, its public buildings, and the archives of the nation, McClellan took one hundred and twenty thousand men to the peninsula and left but nineteen thousand effective men of all arms to protect the capital. Notwithstanding the fact that General McClellan had one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers on the peninsula confronting a force of the enemy greatly inferior in numbers, Senator Chandler said he "began to telegraph for re-enforcements and continued to telegraph up to the day he was attacked by the rebels." Re-enforcements were sent him, consisting of McCall's division, Shields' division, Franklin's division, and other troops from Baltimore and Fortress Monroe, swelling the army under General McClellan to the number of one hundred and fifty-eight thousand men. In regard to this point Senator Chandler said, "the country has been deceived. It has been led to believe that the Secretary of War, or somebody else, has interfered with General McClellan's plans, when he had an army that could have crushed any other army on the face of the earth. One hundred and fifty-eight thousand of the best troops that ever stood on God's footstool were sent down to the peninsula and placed under command of General McClellan, and yet the whole treasonable press of the country has been howling after the Secretary of War because of his alleged refusal to send re-enforcements to General McClellan. As I said the other day he has sent every man, every saber, every bayonet, every horse that could be spared from any source whatever to increase that grand army under General McClellan in front of Richmond. Why did he not enter Richmond? We shall see." * * * * "Does any man doubt that this army, ably handled, was sufficiently strong to have captured Richmond and crushed the rebel army? I think not, if promptly led against the enemy, but instead of that, it sat down in malarious swamps and awaited the drafting, arming, drilling, and making soldiers of an army to fight it, and in the mean time our army was rapidly wasting away. Unwholesome water, inadequate food, overwork, and sleeping in marshes were rapidly filling the hospitals and overloading the return boats with the sick. Sir, we have lost more men by the spade than by the bullet, five to one, since the army started from Yorktown, under McClellan." Referring to the battle of Williamsburg, where a small fraction of our army routed the enemy, Senator Chandler said, "when that battle was fought and won, all the enemy's works were cleared away and

we had an open road to Richmond. There was not a single fortification between Richmond and Williamsburg. All we had to do was to get through those infernal swamps, march up and take possession of Richmond. What did we do? We found the worst swamp there was between Richmond and Williamsburg, sat right down in the center of it and went to digging. We sacrificed thousands and tens of thousands of the bravest troops that ever stood on the face of God's earth digging in front of no intrenchments and before a whipped army of the enemy. We waited for them to recruit; we waited for them to get another army. They had a levy *en masse*. They were taking all the men and boys between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five, and magnanimously we waited weeks and weeks for them to bring these forced levies into some sort of consistency as an army. The battle of Fair Oaks was fought. There the enemy found again a little fraction of our army, very much less than half, and they brought out their entire force. I have it from the best authority that they had not a solitary regiment in or about Richmond that was fit to put in front of an enemy that they did not bring to Fair Oaks and hurl upon our decimated army. Again the indomitable bravery of our troops * * * gave us a triumphant victory. The enemy went back to Richmond pell mell." "And what did we do then? We found another big swamp and we sat down in the center of it and went to digging. We began to throw up intrenchments when there were no intrenchments in our front, no enemy that was not utterly broken." * * * "Fair Oaks was lost; that is to say we won a brilliant victory, but it did us no good. We did not take advantage of it. Of course it would have been very unfair to take advantage of a routed army, [laughter] it would not have been according to our strategy. We magnanimously stopped and commenced digging. There was no army in our front; there were no intrenchments in our front, but we did not know what else to do, and so we began to dig and ditch, and we kept digging and ditching until the rebels had impressed and drilled and armed and made soldiers of their entire population. But that was not enough; they sent Jackson upon his raid to Winchester, and we waited for him to come back with his twenty or thirty thousand men. We heard that Corinth was being evacuated and of course it would have been very unfair to commence an attack until they brought their troops from Corinth, and so we waited for the army at Corinth to get to Richmond. After the rebels had got all the troops they ever hoped to raise from any source, we did not attack them, but they attacked us, as we had reason to suppose they would.

"They attacked our right wing, and, as I am informed upon what I must deem reliable authority, they hurled the bulk of their entire force upon our right wing of thirty thousand men, and during the whole of that Thursday our right wing of thirty thousand men held their ground and repulsed that vast horde of the enemy over and over again, and held their ground at night. Of course you will say a re-enforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men was sent to these brave troops that they might not only hold their ground the next day, but send this rebel army into Richmond a second time, as at Fair Oaks. No, sir, nothing of the sort was done. At night, instead of sending them reinforcements, they were ordered to retreat. That was 'strategy.' The moment we commenced our retreat, as is said in the dispatches, the enemy fought like demons. Of course they would, who ever heard of a retreating army that was not pursued by the victors like demons, except in case of rebel retreats? No other army but ours was ever guilty of stopping immediately after a victory. Other armies fight like demons after a victory and annihilate the enemy, but we do not. Our left wing and center remained intact. A feint was made upon the left and center, and I have it here, not the sworn testimony, but the statement of one of the bravest men in the whole Army of the Potomac, that when his regiment was ordered under arms he had no doubt that he was going to march into Richmond. He believed the whole force of the enemy had attacked our right wing; he believed there was nothing but a screen of pickets in front, and he thought that now our great triumph was to come off. His men sprang into line with alacrity, prepared to rush into Richmond and take it at the point of the bayonet. He never discovered his error until he saw a million and a half dollars' worth of property burning in front of his regiment, and then he began to think that an advance upon Richmond was not intended. And it was not. We had been at work there and had lost ten thousand men in digging intrenchments. We had spent months in bringing up siege guns, and we abandoned those intrenchments without firing a gun. Our army was ordered to advance on the gunboats instead of on Richmond."

The Committee on the Conduct of the War became entirely familiar, not only with all the strategical plans of the different commanding generals of the Army of the Potomac, but also with the peculiar fitness and fidelity of the corps commanders and other prominent officers who retained position in the army, serving under Burnside, Hooker, Pope, and Meade. They were acquainted with the faithfulness of the energetic Franklin, with

the fidelity and patriotism of the prompt and true Fitz John Porter, as well as that of various subordinate officers who had been the personal adherents and admirers of General McClellan, and who had often declared that no other man could successfully command the Army of the Potomac. They knew why Burnside was defeated at Fredericksburg, why Pope was driven back, why Hooker was repulsed, why the Army of the Potomac was always either defeated or failed to win substantial victories, while the laurels of victory graced the banners of every other division of the great Union army, whether in the West, the Mississippi Valley, or on the Atlantic coast.

And when General Grant was called to command the eastern army and was expected to succeed where others had failed, grave apprehensions were felt lest the unfaithful and disobedient officers, still on duty in this army who had successively destroyed Pope and Burnside and Hooker, would prove unfaithful to Grant, and contribute again to the defeat and disgrace of this grand but much abused army.

Senator Chandler deemed the matter one of so great importance that he called upon the Secretary of War and requested him to have a list made out of the incompetent, suspected, and insubordinate officers in the Army of the Potomac, to be furnished to General Grant, so that he would be able to place them where they could do the least harm in the service. This Secretary Stanton promised should be done. A few days afterward, Senator Chandler called again at the War Department and inquired of the Secretary if that list had been made out and sent to General Grant. He replied "Not yet." When Senator Chandler immediately said I will make out the list myself and send it to Grant, and he did so, Major General C. C. Washburn being the bearer.

This was indeed a patriotic service second only in importance to that of securing the retirement of McClellan from the chief command.

AN INCIDENT.

As connected with this review of the McClellan campaign there is an unwritten incident which deserves mention.

The country will remember the long and fruitless marchings and countermarchings of the Potomac army in and about the intrenchments around Washington; the gradual advances of the army by the slow progress of the spade, in throwing up expensive forts on every eminence, that each might be covered by the guns of the other; that with an army of more than 200,000, in fact, nearly a quarter of a million of men, well supplied with the material of war, he had, in the space of nine months, advanced the full distance of

five miles, to Munson's Hill. No well-informed person in Washington at the time believed that there was any considerable force of the enemy in front of the Union army, and it was the general opinion that the delays were occasioned by the incompetence or unwillingness of the field commander. After these delays had been continued for months, the Committee on the Conduct of the War, then in session at the Capitol, instituted inquiries as to the actual force of the enemy in front of the Army of the Potomac, his headquarters being at Manassas Junction. These investigations disclosed the fact, to the satisfaction of the committee, that the force of the enemy was infinitely inferior to our army, and varying from fifteen to fifty thousand men, never higher than the latter number. The committee then requested an interview with the President and Cabinet, for consultation in regard to the inactivity of the army. The interview was granted, and was attended by the President, all of the Cabinet, and all the members of the committee. The apparently inexcusable inactivity of the army, the impatience of the country, and the comparative weakness of the enemy were all fully discussed. The facts presented by the committee and within the knowledge of the Administration satisfied those present that there were no good reasons why the army should not move at once; that its force was so superior to that of the enemy that further delay would be inexcusable, and would result in great discouragement and discontent on the part of the people. A vote was actually taken as to whether the army should be ordered promptly forward, and so convincing had been the facts presented that but one vote was cast against such order—that by a Cabinet officer—the whole of the committee and all the other members of the Administration deciding in favor of an immediate advance. To the astonishment of every one, the Associated Press dispatches of the next day contained the statement that the enemy at Manassas was 200,000 strong, with fortifications scarcely inferior to those of Sebastopol, and that they could not be captured or routed except at an enormous cost of life. Whether these dispatches were instigated by McClellan or any of those in his confidence is not known, but it is known that they made the excuse for further delay. Weeks more elapsed, and nothing done. The country and the Administration again became impatient, but it was then plead that the army could not move until the leaves had fallen, as with the dense foliage on the trees they would be liable to ambuscades.

Finally the leaves fell, and still some apology for delay was found, until the autumn was gone and the winter nearly spent, when, at last, the patience of Congress, the coun-

try, and the Administration became exhausted, and a peremptory order was issued for the immediate advance of the Army of the Potomac. Under the lead of McClellan the army felt its way out to Manassas, to find what? A deserted camp, a few insignificant rifle pits and empty cabins and barracks, sufficient for the accommodation of twelve or fifteen thousand men, with no evidence that a larger force had been quartered there, thus completely vindicating the judgment and sagacity of the committee, the Administration, and the public. It was this kind of tardiness, accompanying all McClellan's movements, which wasted the forces of the Government, exhausted the patience and resources of the people, and finally led to the exposure of his management as given above.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing sketch of some of the important events in which Senator Chandler bore an active and conspicuous part during his term of service in the Senate affords no more than a glance at the eventful times in which he served, and the vital questions which agitated and which, on more than one occasion, shook the foundation of the Government to its very center. No other period of our history, since the establishment of the Government, has presented such turbulent scenes, or required greater skill in statesmanship, or more resolute purpose and action, nor has there in any other period been exhibited more firmness by our people, more patriotism by our public men, or greater sacrifices demanded on the part of our citizens. In Congress, in the army, in the administration, and in the homes of our people, the same patriotic purpose prevailed, subduing selfishness, ignoring localities, allaying partisan strife, uniting for the common defense and the preservation of the national unity.

In the period under consideration we have seen the great sin of slavery removed, the perpetuity of the nation provided for, its credit preserved and advanced, the construction of a continental railway, the enactment of the homestead law, labor rewarded and dignified, the highways of commerce improved and extended, our educational institutions upheld, our natural resources developed, our agricultural and mechanical industries quadrupled, and the rights and duties of the citizen established and prescribed.

To have taken an active part in such vital changes and reforms, to have given his voice and vote on all of them, and to have given no vote he would desire to recall, and uttered no word he would wish unspoken, has been the privilege and will constitute the proud and enduring record of Zachariah Chandler.

ERRORS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

Why is it, that with the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century, the principal nations of the earth are carrying larger standing armies to-day than at any former period in the world's history? If, as we have been taught to believe, one of the main achievements of civilization ought to be "peace on earth and good will among men," then this vast accumulation of the fighting forces of the world is in direct opposition to those principles upon which a real civilization can alone be based. Armies mean war, and wherever they are maintained they lead to that result, sooner or later. It is claimed, and experience confirms the fact, that armies cannot long be successfully disciplined and preserved from demoralization without actual practice; and the history of the world demonstrates the significant fact that large armies are rarely idle for any considerable period. With all due regard to the force of the contrary claim, that large armies mean peace, it must be conceded that armies are maintained not for purposes of peace, but for the objects of war, and war as often of an aggressive as of a defensive nature.

Looking at the subject, then, from this standpoint, what can be the conclusion in reference to the immense fighting power now maintained by nearly every civilized nation on the face of the globe? Is it not the greatest mistake of the age? Does it not retard most seriously the progress of true civilization and the elevation of humanity? And if continued will it not tend directly to reduce society again to a condition of poverty and ultimately to absolute barbarism?

But before attempting to trace this mistaken policy to its legitimate and inevitable results, it will be well to look at the present magnitude of the fighting forces of civilized countries. From the English army estimates, says the *Toronto Natn.*, we learn that the total force of the regulars of all arms of that nation is 186,821. Of these 100,059 are stationed in England, 24,912 in the Colonies, and 62,850 in India. Besides the standing army there are in England 118,000 militia,

12,500 yeomanry, and 161,000 volunteers, or a little less than 400,000 trained men in the two islands. After making all allowance for shortage, the *Spectator* believes that to resist invasion England can hardly have less than 250,000 available and efficient men. This force is not considered ample, but could be, in an emergency, easily raised to the 400,000 which is pronounced as a sufficient force. The cost of the army, including all the above branches of it, is about \$73,000,000 a year, which the *Spectator* considers too much for the result, as it is nearly as much as the cost of the German army. The total Colonial contributions in aid of military expenditure are £233,100, of which £121,000 is contributed by Ceylon, £51,000 by the Straits settlements, £27,000 by the Mauritius; £20,000 by Hong-Kong, £10,000 by the Cape, and £3,500 by Natal. The above is all sterling money. The total amount included in the army estimates for military purposes in the Colonies is £1,752,000 sterling, an increase over last year's expenditure.

The German army, on the 1st of January, 1875, as shown by a late Cologne paper, consisted of 31,830 officers, 1,329,600 men, 314,970 horses, 2,700 field guns, and 820 siege guns. Of these the number of troops available for service in the field within six weeks after mobilization is (excluding the transport and staff corps) 710,130 men, with 114,850 horses and 2,082 field guns. These figures do not include the fourth battalions, 3,400 officers and 152,100 men, formed in case of war, or the upward of 200,000 men to be raised under the new laws. The total force at the disposal of Germany is, therefore, 38,948 officers and 1,684,200 men, excluding surgeons and the hospital corps.

The strength of the French army at present consists of 1,098,400 men, of whom 635,700 are available for the field. But as this army is now being reorganized, under new laws, it is proposed to make the fighting power of France larger and more effective than that of any other nation. It will require fifteen or twenty years to complete the new organization on the gigantic scale contemplated.

The Russian army, including the Don Cossacks, but excluding the Caucasian and Asiatic troops, is 1,376,860 men, of whom 761,000 are available for field service.

Austria supports an army of 865,900 men, including 562,750 field troops and a reserve.

Italy has an army of 741,700, including 379,000 field troops and reserves.

So also Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Turkey, and Egypt are each supporting large armies, increased and increasing to the utmost extent of their means in men and borrowed capital to sustain them. The same is true of the South American republics and Mexico. In fact, the United States of America is perhaps the only civilized nation where the army is reduced to the actual demands of a military police, consisting of twenty-five to thirty thousand men.

Such is the policy and practice of modern civilization, and so long as any one nation continues to increase its arms, the others, to the extent of their means, will follow the example. France, by the time her new organization is completed, will find the German army increased to the extent of at least 100,000 more men; and so the work of augmenting the fighting power will go on, exhausting the world of the practical use of the bone and muscle which God designed for the development of the productive industries, education, art, and the nobler humanities of society.

"If half the power that fills the world with terror,
If half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts
Were given to redeem the human mind fr m error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

SOME OF THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF SUSTAINING LARGE ARMIES.

It is impossible, while immense armies are sustained by the different nations, to maintain peace for any considerable period of time. The most trivial provocation is often made the pretext for aggressive operations. But we will admit, for the present, the possibility of a brief series of years of uninterrupted peace; yet even then the impoverishing influences of a standing army are intolerable. These millions of the physically best men in all the communities are not only idle and non-productive, but they require the labor of about an equal number of the actual toilers to sustain them. If an indi-

vidual loses a leg or an arm the remaining member is compelled to do double work; so if a million of men are prevented from accomplishing their part in producing the necessities of life, that work must of necessity be performed for them by other parties.

But armies have grown to such enormous proportions that the people are unequal to the task of sustaining them, even under the highest possible rate of taxation. In this case, as is now known, the respective governments are compelled to depend for the deficiency upon their borrowing power, and there is scarcely a nation to-day enjoying the unenviable reputation of sustaining a large army that is not mortgaged to the Rothschilds and other capitalists for funds borrowed to sustain their fighting forces. Nor is this all: the national indebtedness of each Power, with only rare exceptions, is increasing in about the same ratio that their armies are augmented. Let us look at the facts. There is some difficulty, it is true, in ascertaining the exact liabilities of the various nations thus heavily indebted; but the London *Economist* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* have devoted much attention to this subject, and with a few corrections which we are enabled to make from official data and by rating the pound sterling at five dollars, we shall accept and adopt their tables as being nearly or quite correct. The following table shows the indebtedness of the principal nations on the 1st of January, 1873, and at the commencement of the present year:

National Debts, Jan. 1, 1873, and Jan. 1, 1875.

Nations.	Debt, 1873.	Debt, 1875.
France.....	\$3,740,000,000	\$4,500,000,000
Great Britain.....	3,950,000,00	3,900,000,00
United States....	2,271,858,187	2,280,338,683
Italy.....	1,800,000,000	1,950,000,000
Spain.....	1,305,000,000	1,875,000,000
Austria.....	1,531,600,000	1,750,000,000
Russia.....	1,775,000,000	1,700,000,000
Germany.....	1,040,000,000	1,000,000,000
Turkey.....	620,000,000	675,000,000
India.....	540,000,000	650,000,000
Total.....	18,571,858,187	20,280,338,683

Increase and Decrease of National Debts in two years, January 1, 1873, to January 1, 1875.

Nations	Increase	Decrease.
France.....	\$760,000,000	
Great Britain.....		\$50,000,000
United States.....	8,480,496	
Italy.....	150,000,000	
Spain.....	570,000,000	
Austria.....	220,000,000	
Russia.....		75,000,000
Germany.....		40,000,000
Turkey.....	55,000,000	
India.....	120,000,000	
Total.....	1,883,480,496	165,000,000

These ten governments, it will be seen, owe in the aggregate the enormous sum of over \$20,000,000,000, and have added nearly ten per cent. to their indebtedness during the last two years.

The ten next largest national debts, according to the *Economist*, are about as follows: Brazil, \$410,000,000; Holland, \$400,000,000; Egypt, \$375,000,000; Portugal, \$345,000,000; Mexico, \$317,500,000; Australasian Colonies, \$230,000,000; Peru, \$185,000,000; Belgium, \$180,000,000; Hungary, \$160,000,000; Canada, \$150,000,000. The twenty largest national debts in the world amount, therefore, in the aggregate to \$22,950,000,000. The *Economist* estimates the indebtedness of the smaller governments at \$800,000,000, and this brings the total national indebtedness of the world up to the enormous sum of \$23,750,000,000, or two-thirds of the entire value of all the wealth, real and personal, of England or the United States! And at least three-fourths of this vast burden which the industrial classes of civilized nations are now carrying is the direct result of war and of maintaining standing armies.

The *interest* on this indebtedness is drawn mainly and promptly, year after year, from the earnings of the people; and here we shall present to the reader a column of figures showing the amount thus taken from the pockets of the tax-payers. Again taking

the *Economist* as our guide, excepting where we are enabled to correct its figures from official data, we arrive at the following results:

National Debts, January 1, 1873, and amount of Interest paid per annum by each Nation.

Countries.	Debt.	Interest.	Rate per cent.
France.....	\$4,500,000,000	\$165,000,000	3½
England.....	3,900,000,000	133,000,000	3½
United States.....	2,281,338,683	101,575,896	4½
Italy.....	1,950,000,000	75,750,000	4
Austria.....	1,750,000,000	75,000,000	4½
Spain.....	1,875,000,000	55,000,000	3
Russia.....	1,700,000,000	67,250,000	4
Turkey.....	675,000,000	47,500,000	7
Germany.....	1,000,000,000	45,000,000	4½
Egypt.....	375,000,000	37,500,000	10
India.....	650,000,000	29,500,000	4½
Mexico.....	317,500,000	20,000,000	6
Brazil.....	410,000,000	15,500,000	4
Australasia.....	230,000,000	13,500,000	6
Peru.....	185,000,000	13,000,000	7
Holland.....	40,000,000	11,250,000	2½
Portugal.....	345,000,000	10,750,000	3
Belgium.....	180,000,000	8,750,000	5
Hungary.....	16,000,000	7,500,000	5
Canada.....	150,000,000	7,500,000	5
Total.....	23,632,838,683	941,327,896	.....

The London *Economist* remarks very properly that "That the rate of interest which these countries are severally paying on the nominal amount of their debt must not, of course, be confounded at the rate at which they can now borrow. Judged by the latest quotations on the Stock Exchange, some of these may be given as follows: England, 3½ per cent.; India, 4 per cent.; Holland, 4½ per cent.; Canada, 4½ per cent.; Australasia, 4½ per cent.; United States, 4½ per cent.; France, 5 per cent.; Russia, 5 per cent.; Brazil, 5 per cent.; Italy, 6 per cent.; Portugal, 6 per cent.; Hungary, 7½ per cent.; Egypt, 8 per cent.; Turkey, 10 per cent.; Peru, 10 per cent.; Spain, 15 per cent.; Mexico, 18 per cent." In other words, many of these nations have impaired their borrowing power, and cannot now command money at the former rates at which they obtained loans when their credit was stronger.

Referring again to the aggregate of the interest column, and adding \$55,000,000 as the interest on the debts of the smaller governments not specified, we have an aggregate levy of about \$1,000,000,000 imposed annually

upon the tax-payers of the world, mainly to enable crowned heads to keep their deluded subjects in good fighting trim to gratify their own personal vanity and selfish ambition.

But the indications are increasing daily, all over Europe, that the people will not submit much longer to this terrible imposition, and the heads of European Governments are intensely agitated at the threatening aspect of affairs, caused by the discontent and murmuring of the people under the weight of their tax burdens and other grievances growing out of the policy of sustaining immense standing armies and rushing into war whenever opportunity offers.

SERIOUS RESULTS OF A BAD EXAMPLE.

As war and standing armies are the direct cause of large national debts and heavy taxation, so the example of the central government in contracting immense debts is imitated by the subordinate colonial, state, county, and municipal authorities under each government. Australasia and the Dominion of Canada would never have ventured to carry an indebtedness of \$230,000,000 and \$150,000,000 respectively, if the example of the parent state had not offered a notable precedent. In the United States since the increase of the national debt to its present enormous proportions, the several States have not hesitated to multiply their debt burdens by millions of dollars, while counties, cities, and towns have followed the very bad examples afforded by the policy of the State and Federal Governments. As an illustration of these statements we shall select a single State, and one that we might well suppose would be among the last to deviate from its former conservative and prudent policy in public finances. We shall select Massachusetts as offering a fair illustration of the wretched policy, now so generally prevalent, of augmenting the public indebtedness and increasing taxation to pay the interest on the same.

The Boston *Journal*, in commenting upon the present municipal indebtedness of the old Bay State says:

The report of the Commissioners on taxation will no doubt awaken a general interest throughout the State in the subject of taxation. In that report it is suggested that the cities and towns should be limited to a fixed

per cent. of their valuation as the limit of their debt-contracting power. The views advanced by the Commissioners will receive close attention, though it is hardly to be expected that so important a subject can be disposed of at the present session of the Legislature. It is desirable to secure a system by which taxation will be justly distributed; but there are so many theories advocated that it is hard to reconcile differences of opinion. There is one feature of the question about which there is no difference of opinion, and that is the necessity of judicious economy, not niggardly retrenchment. It is important to have equitable assessment of taxation, but it is more important that the annual tax levies shall be kept within reasonable limits. The ease with which money has been obtained by cities and towns has been a very prominent cause of the increase of debt. A single statement illustrates this, embracing the municipal indebtedness in Massachusetts:

1874. Total indebtedness of cities and towns	\$80,427,245
1870. Total indebtedness of cities and towns	34,826,830

Increase in four years \$45,600,385

Here we have an increase in municipal indebtedness of 130 per cent. in four years. At seven per cent. interest the annual burden to the people is \$5,629,907, which is twenty per cent. of all the taxes, including State, city, town, county, and highway taxes which the citizen is obliged to pay. It will be urged that the State has increased in valuation in the same ratio. It is so easy for flippanc aldermen and legislators to make assertions, regarding growth, without fear of contradiction at the time, that some good-natured souls at City Hall and in the State House look upon those who cry "halt" in this onward march to bankruptcy as alarmists who are opposed to progress. A single statement will show the condition of valuation:

1874. Total valuation of Massachusetts	\$1,831,601,165
1870. Total valuation of Massachusetts	1,417,127,376

Increase in four years..... \$414,473,789

This increase is 29 per cent. in four years. The total amount of money raised for taxation is also an element to be taken into consideration, and it may be thus stated:

1874. Total tax levies for all purposes	\$28,700,605
1870. Total tax levies for all purposes	21,922,569

Increase in four years..... \$6,778,036

This increase is a little over 30½ per cent. We have therefore to deduce the following facts from the above figures:

1. In four years we have in Massachusetts increased our total valuation *twenty-nine per cent.*

2. In four years we have in Massachusetts increased our total tax levies *thirty and one-half per cent.*

3. In four years we have increased our municipal indebtedness *one hundred and thirty per cent.*

We may as well look these figures squarely in the face, for when municipalities like Brookline, Cambridge, and other places, where, we must think, there is greater wisdom existing upon such matters than is manifested, continue to pile up debt and borrow money for current expenses, it is quite time the Legislature stepped in, and by legal enactments not only curtailed the borrowing power of municipalities, but secured their creditors by rendering it obligatory that no debt shall be without its sinking fund.

Mr. D. A. Gleason, in the Tax Commissioners' report above referred to, gives the indebtedness of each municipality as it stood May 1, 1874. Since then Dedham has paid its debt. In this official table it appears that the per centage of indebtedness to valuation is as follows:

No indebtedness	.....	48 towns
About one per cent	.....	63 "
" two "	.....	58 "
" three "	.....	59 "
" four "	.....	36 "
" five "	.....	30 "
" six "	.....	13 "
" seven "	.....	17 "
" eight "	.....	10 "
" nine "	.....	3 "
" ten "	.....	3 "

The city and town indebtedness of Massachusetts may be safely accepted as indicating about the average financial condition of municipal corporations in nearly every State in the Union. This practice of spending in advance has become so prevalent that efforts are now being made in some of the States to stop the increase of State, county, city, and town indebtedness by the enactment of limitation laws. A more powerful check would be found in the popular will if the people could be aroused to a proper contemplation of the disastrous results that must follow the policy of involving the State and municipal governments in debt burdens which cannot be removed, or even the interest paid excepting under a ruinous scale of taxation. Some of

the injurious effects of this policy upon the development of our productive industries and upon society itself may be briefly stated. And first, note the

EFFECT OF PUBLIC DEBTS UPON THE PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES.

One of the first results of placing Government securities, whether national, colonial, State, or municipal, upon the market in any considerable quantities, is to attract capital from its ordinary channels as employed in developing the agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and other industrial interests. Capitalists generally will not build houses for investment while real estate is taxed from one to three per cent. per annum, and untaxed first class bonds, paying five and six per cent. interest in gold, can be procured. There are honorable exceptions in men of great public enterprise, but in the main, capitalists will seek the most desirable investment that can be secured; and as untaxed Government securities at five and six per cent. are about the safest, surest, and best investments that can be made, these securities and State and municipal bonds draw off much of the floating capital that would otherwise be used in developing and increasing the productive industries. What would otherwise have been productive capital becomes unproductive. Large public debts require increased revenues, involving heavy taxes and a large force of customs and internal revenue officers, clerks, and laborers, all of whom are consumers, living upon the earnings of tax-payers, but adding nothing to the products or wealth of the country.

Another effect of flooding the markets with Government bonds and State and municipal securities is to increase the interest, or, properly speaking, the price paid for the use of capital, and thus place it beyond the reach of ordinary enterprise and trade. It stops the erection of houses, rents go up under the law of supply and demand, and the working and poorer classes are compelled to diminish their house room, and soon begin to suffer for the want of comfortable and healthful homes. Again, where public securities abound and absorb the floating capital at high rates of interest, not only houses and

house rents, but clothing, provisions, books, newspapers, church pews, and nearly every commodity of life are necessarily more expensive than if the Government was not borrowing money and taxing the people to pay the interest on its obligations. In short, from whatever standpoint these public burdens are viewed—whether of the central or subordinate government organizations of a nation—they tend directly to cramp the industrial development of the country and limit the demand for labor, while they increase the cost of living and diminish the purchasing power of the workingman's income.

EFFECT OF PUBLIC DEBTS UPON SOCIETY.

While a capitalist continues to invest his funds in public improvements, in house and ship building, and in developing the industrial resources of the country, thus giving employment to labor, he ranks among the most useful members of society. But when he withdraws his capital from those channels of usefulness and locks it up in Government bonds his usefulness to society ceases; he becomes a mere cipher among men, and not only a non-producer but a consumer of the tax-payer's earnings. We do not condemn him for this, for while his Government in its extremity requires his funds it is an act of patriotism to extend his aid in that direction. It is the Government's necessity for the use of his capital that should be avoided. We have shown, or endeavored to show, that public debts are almost invariably the result of war and of sustaining large armies, and that in this is involved the great error of modern civilization. And while this policy is pursued by the great Powers government bonds will continue to absorb a large portion of the wealth of capitalists. But society must suffer in consequence. The capitalist, instead of building houses, accumulates his bonds, loses his interest in public enterprise, collects the semi-annual product of his five and six per cent. coupons, invests the proceeds again in bonds, and grows yearly more wealthy, while the tax-payer becomes poorer under his increased burdens, and the workingman suffers for lack of the employment the capitalist formerly furnished. The rich become richer

and the poor poorer; the two classes are removed further apart, and the relations and whole aspect of society gradually change from that of a democracy and social equality to an aristocracy on the one hand and pauperism on the other. This transformation is not sudden, but it is perceptible and inevitable. History repeats itself, and "history, indeed," says Dr. Carey in his social science, "may with perfect truth be said to be little else than a record of the efforts of the few to tax the many, and of the many to escape taxation," and "the many become impoverished while the few are enriched." Cities may for a time continue to increase in population and flourish, for the wealthy are naturally attracted to these great centers, but the development of the rural industries are neglected, as in the experience of Venice, after a series of wars, "the Government, originally democratic, became from age to age more aristocratic," says the historian, "until it centered in the Council of Ten, whose spies penetrated every house, and whose tortures could reach every individual." Or, as in the case of France under Henry IV and Louis XIV, when centralization and taxation grew with the increase of armies, and the exhaustion of the people increased with the splendor of the throne, until weakness compelled the nation to accept a peace dictated by Marlborough and Prince Eugene; or later, when Napoleon III enriched Paris at the expense of the Provinces and the people only to discover his national weakness at Sedan. Great armies and consequent taxes have been and still are the curse of Europe, and must of necessity always be so wherever the one becomes a part of the national policy and the other follows as a necessary sequence.

IS A REMEDY POSSIBLE?—IS IT PRACTICABLE?

There appears to be no good reason why these errors of civilization may not find a remedy which all the nations interested in their correction will accept as both possible and practicable. The great central cause of the evil is the war-spirit of the civilized world, the results of which have become a thousand-fold more gigantic in their proportions than was ever known or contemplated by any heathen people. Standing armies

are to-day unknown among uncivilized nations. They are peculiar to civilization, and in their enormous proportions to the later years of the nineteenth century.

But this is not the work of the people, nor is it an expression of their sentiments. Wars and standing armies are the legitimate fruits of inordinate ambition on the part of selfish rulers. If put to the test of a popular vote by the people, standing armies would be swept from the face of the globe, and the practice of war would no longer be known. Has not the time come when the popular voice should be heard, and the will of the people be respected, at least so far as this great popular error of civilization affects their vital interests? A response to this inquiry in the affirmative seems to be reasonable and proper. Prompted, then, by its spirit, and guided by the light of reason, we should next find the ruling minds in the great Powers seeking a remedy by united action in a Peace Congress of the Heads of all the civilized nations. We have had similar gatherings in recent years, but with only partial success; yet they were not without good fruits, and may be accepted as the harbingers of better things in the near future. The great advance made in recent years by England, France, Russia, and the United States in the suppression of human slavery and the march to a higher civilization now going on in the populous nations of China and Japan, seem to point to the duty of a concert of action on the part of all the great civilized States in a grand effort for universal peace. The great communities of the earth have lived in vain if they have not learned the folly of war, and now the time has come for a general movement with a view to its permanent suppression.

With this end in view, and in the spirit of a united effort in the work, THE REPUBLIC would, without presumption, suggest, for general consideration, the propriety of convening

A WORLD'S PEACE CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON.

In connection with the International Exhibition of 1876, a convention of the Heads of the Great Powers in Washington, on or about the second day of June, assembled in the interests of universal peace, would seem to be

entirely in keeping with the true spirit of civilization and the higher claims of humanity. The time and place are named as a matter of convenience. Any one of the European capitals or centers of civilization might be selected as a more convenient locality for representatives from that continent; but not so for the Eastern nations, whose representation would be important and essential to the complete success of the enterprise. But, wherever held, we believe the exigency of civilization and the great interests of our common humanity demand, at the earliest possible period, a general concert of action of all advanced nations to devise means for the extermination of great armies and the organization of central governments on the basis and in the spirit of perpetual peace. Following this consummation, the millions of men now marshaled in the ranks of military organizations would be restored to industrial occupations; great national debts would be gradually diminished and ultimately obliterated; tax-burdens would be lightened; the capital now absorbed in sustaining armies and navies would be turned into channels of productive industry; internal improvements, with the increased capital at command, would be developed; a larger scope for the general employment of all classes would be secured; strikes would decrease with the increased demand and better pay for labor; civilization would advance, and our common humanity would gradually be lifted to a higher plane than it has ever yet attained or even contemplated.

WE advise our Democratic friends to incur no obligations on the strength of a Democratic victory in 1876. The recent elections throughout the country indicate that a little old-fashioned vitality is still left in the Republican party, and if we are not mistaken the next presidential contest will see the Bourbon army shattered as badly as it was in 1872. We don't object to Democratic glorification, but we do object to this possession of an office two years before it is vacant. When the people are ready to rent the White House they must have the privilege of picking their tenant.

IS THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM A FAILURE?

So little has been written on the respective merits of the elective and appointive systems for the selection of public officers, that we welcome the recent address by E. Y. Bell, of Yonkers, N. Y., on the above subject, as an important contribution to a question that must at all times more or less interest and affect our people. There appears to be a growing tendency on the part of many to shift from the shoulders of the citizen the responsibilities of popular elections by making high officials appointive rather than elective.

Mr. Bell's address appears to have grown out of a local issue affecting the citizens of the city of Yonkers, N. Y., but it contains so much that is general in its character and applicable to all sections of the country that we give space to some of its leading ideas. It has been claimed by the friends of the appointive system that a select few are better qualified to appoint honest and competent officials than the people themselves by popular vote. To this claim, and to the one that the system has broad merits which command it to public favor, Mr. Bell replies :

" If there were no other questions involved except the honesty and fitness of the official, the people might appoint a board of three, to hold office during good behavior, to select and appoint for them every municipal officer. The same feature could be introduced in our State government, thus ridding ourselves of the inconvenience of annual elections. It might be carried into the national system, thus doing away with the popular election for President, members of Congress, and other national officials. Yet who will stand up in defense of this aristocratic system of government? It is not enough to claim that a limited experience in a certain locality has developed no abuses. It is sufficient to know that it opens wide the door for official corruption and partisan favoritism. It makes it possible for men to obtain the highest offices of trust who have not the respect or confidence of the people; and to retain them against the popular will.

" It is a weak reply to this to say that no such men have been appointed. The very fact that the appointive system contains within itself the power to override public sentiment is sufficient to condemn it as a

defective and dangerous principle of government. We are asked to examine this system 'upon its broad merits, rather than upon any practical experience which we have obtained under its workings.' The 'practical experience' of the city of New York sufficiently illustrates the 'broad merits' of this appointive system. The most ignorant people on the face of the globe could not have elected men who would have plundered a community as effectually as those officials who were appointed to positions of power and trust. Such men as Tweed, Garvey, Ingersoll, and a host of their brother thieves, are the legitimate fruits of this appointive system. Appointees themselves, they wielded an immense power over the authority which appointed them, and exerted an influence which no elective officer could possibly possess. To serve Tweed and his band of plunderers was the first step to official favor and patronage. To enrich them, by robbing the tax-payer, was the magic wand which opened the door of appointment. The appointive system in its infancy may have some features to commend it, but the strongest argument against its 'broad merits' is to be found in 'the practical experience' of New York city. Burdened with an oppressive debt, nearly half of which represents the stealings of its appointees, its people taxed almost beyond endurance, it may well cry out against a system that is responsible in a large measure for the heavy burdens under which it staggers. Ought we not to read in her sad experience a lesson of wisdom for our own government? Ought we not to cast out and utterly reject a system that is open to such possibilities for wrong-doing? Ought we not to remand to the people themselves this great responsibility, which has been delegated to the few, lest our future experience be as bitter as that of our neighboring city? If it is wise to correct a system after we have suffered from its defects, how much greater the wisdom to accept the experience of others, and change the system before we feel the burden of its abuses."

It has also been urged by those who favor the appointive system that the Federal Government presents to municipal governments a model which can be followed with safety by the people. That one of the distinctive features of the Federal Government is the authority vested in certain elective officers to make a large number of appointments to high and responsible positions; that this

system having worked well in its application to the nation, ought to work equally well with a municipality. In reviewing this claim and the debates of the several conventions which passed upon the Constitution, Mr. Bell says :

"A careful examination of those early debates will show with what reluctance 'our venerable and wise forefathers' surrendered this elective principle for one which, under the nature of the compact entered into, could not be avoided. Thoughtful statesmen refused their assent to its adoption because they regarded the delegation of so much power into the hands of a few men as a step toward a centralization which in time would subvert the liberties of the people. Those who favored its adoption did so because they regarded it as an improvement on the old articles of confederation. The very nature of the government required the investment of large authority in the hands of certain elective officers. The vast extent of territory, the diversified interests of the people, the jealousies of the States, the necessity felt by all for a supreme power to weld the several parts into a harmonious whole, made it necessary for the people to surrender to the new government a certain degree of sovereignty, not only in the appointment of officials, but in other functions of governmental authority. The necessity of the times, the condition of the country, the impossibility of having a strong government without conferring upon it exceptional powers, led to the national system, which we are now told by the advocates of the appointive system affords a principle of government good enough for us to imitate in the conduct of our municipal affairs. It is sufficient to reply to this, that the nature and scope of the two governments are different. The one is the supreme power of the land, vested with certain extraordinary prerogatives for the protection of the whole; the other is subordinate in its character, thoroughly democratic in its nature, and limited in its authority to the wants and necessities of a locality. To form and conduct a municipality, the people are not called upon to surrender a single right which they can retain without crippling the government established. The right to vote, to select officials, to supervise and regulate the whole machinery of municipal government, belongs to the people, and no part of this right should be delegated to individuals, unless upon a commission coming direct from the people. There are certain clerical labors and subordinate work to be performed in the several departments of a municipality which can safely be intrusted to the appointive power of the responsible

head. But the heads of these departments should receive their commission direct from the people, so that in the performance of their duties they may feel that they owe an allegiance to the whole people, and not to a select few, on whom they depend for appointment."

On the question of State appointments of city officials, a subject that has agitated the people of the city of New York for many years, Mr. Bell says :

"Most certainly would I prefer the appointment, if no other alternative was left, of our local officers by the Mayor and Council than by the Governor and Legislature. But the very fact that the appointive system can take from the people, as it has from the city of New York, the right to choose, even through their immediate representatives, the officials who are to manage their affairs, shows how defective it is in principle, and to what a dangerous extent it may be carried. The same argument used against the appointment of municipal officers by the State authorities applies with equal force against their appointment by our council. If the only question involved was one of personal fitness on the part of the appointee, the State would be as competent to decide upon that point as the council. The question goes deeper than this; it is the vital question, on whose decision the security of home rule turns. Ought the people to surrender a right which, once out of their hands, makes it impossible for them, except by the consent of a select few, to determine who shall or who shall not administer their laws. It must be admitted that an appointment by the State of a local officer would be difficult to revoke by our people, if the officer was influential with the power that appointed him. His tenure of office would depend, not upon his popularity among our citizens, but upon the degree of favor shown him by the appointing power. So with those officers whose election by the people we desire. Their tenure of office depends not upon the good opinion of the people, but the favor of the council. They may be good men to-day and bad men to-morrow; they cannot be repudiated by the people except through the consent of the council. True, the people have a way to defeat an unfit officer. They can make his removal an issue in the local campaign, and by changing the members of the council secure the desired change. But this is a round-about way to effect an object that ought to be reached by a direct vote of the people. I have nothing against the personality of the officials in question; for aught I know they may be as efficient as any that could be found. I am dealing with the principle involved, and not the persons who are in posi-

tions under its operation. A king can appoint good men to office, yet I do not approve of the system which permits it. The council may give us as good officials as we could give ourselves, but the system smacks of a concentration of power which, if not abused to-day, may be to-morrow, when less scrupulous men hold the appointing power. The very fact that during the whole history of our Government the elective system, in its application to the State and nation, has not given birth to one-tenth of the gigantic frauds that were concealed for years from public view by a single appointee in the city of New York, should cause our people to distrust the system which made these frauds possible. Direct responsibility to the people, and not to the officials who shared in his plunder, would have made the crime of Wm. M. Tweed an impossibility."

In reference to the abuses which grow out of the elective system—especially its development of a class known as politicians—the writer holds up the true standard of political life. He says :

" Webster defines a politician as 'one who is versed in the science of government and the art of governing.' I admit that the popular definition of the term falls far short of this high standard ; but to the true standard and not the false one would I seek to elevate the citizen. I would secure to our primaries the attendance of our best citizens ; I would encourage the presence of the leading men in the community ; I would seek to enoble the science of politics, by drawing to its support the virtue, the intelligence, the patriotism of the people ; I would not labor, as do the advocates of the appointive system, to abolish the primary or limit the scope of its usefulness ; I would enlarge it, purify it, make it what it was designed to be, the fountain-head, feeding the political stream with pure and healthy waters."

The conclusion of this excellent address is devoted to pointing out the dangerous tendency of the appointive system. Mr. Bell holds to the doctrine that the people are the source of all power ; that if they make mistakes they will, if left free to act, correct them as soon as discovered. There are so many valuable thoughts, subjects for reflection and practice, in the conclusion of the address, that we give it entire :

" The people have their faults, and it is possible that in some instances the faults may creep into the offices they fill ; but the correction will be prompt and ready. The people may commit errors of judgment, but when

once discovered they will be quick to correct them. Said Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to his friend, Colonel Edward Carrington, January 16, 1787, (Writings of Jefferson, by H. A. Washington :) ' The people are the only censors of their governors, and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institutions. * * * * *

" ' Cherish, therefore, the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention ; do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, and Congress, and Assemblies, judges, and governors, shall all become wolves,' said the talented Samuel Stillman, one of the delegates from Boston to the State convention appointed to consider the question of adopting the Federal Constitution, in 1788, (Madison Papers.)

" ' In all governments where officers are elective there ever has been, and there ever will be, a competition of interests ; they who are in office wish to keep in, and they who are not to get in ; the probable consequence of which will be, that they who are already in place will be attentive to the rights of the people, because they know that they are dependent on them for a future election, which can be secured by good behavior only. Besides, they who are out of office will watch those who are in with a most critical eye, in order to discover and expose their malconduct, if guilty of any, so that they may step into their places.'

" Said M. Lansing, delegate from New York to our State convention, on the adoption of the Constitution, 1788, (Madison Papers :) ' Nay ; while in office he would have an additional motive to act well, for, conscious of the people's inconstant disposition, he would be obliged, in order to secure a future election, to fix in their minds the most lasting impressions of his services.'

" In speaking of the sense of dependence which an official should have, the same authority says : ' In proportion to their want of dependence they will lose their respect for the power from whom they receive their existence.'

" Said Melancthon Smith, (Madison Papers,) ' It is a truth capable of demonstration, that the nearer the representative is to his constituents the more attached and dependent he will be.'

" Said Alexander Hamilton, (Madison Papers,) ' We must submit to this idea, that the true principle of a republic is, that the people should choose whom they please to govern them. Representation is imperfect in proportion as the current of popular favor is checked. This great source of free government, popular election, should be perfectly pure, and the most unbounded liberty al-

lowed.' Said Robert R. Livingston, (N. Y. Convention, 1788,) 'The people are the best judges who ought to represent them. To dictate and control them, to tell them whom they shall not elect, is to abridge their natural rights.'

"Said John Jay, in his address to the people of the State of New York, on the subject of proposed Federal Constitution, 1788, 'Let us also be mindful that the cause of freedom greatly depends on the use we make of the singular opportunities we enjoy of governing ourselves wisely; for if the event should prove that the people of this country either cannot or will not govern themselves, who will hereafter be advocates for systems which, however charming in theory and prospect, are not reducible to practice? If the people of our nation, instead of consenting to be governed by laws of their own making, and rulers of their own choosing, should let licentiousness, disorder, and confusion reign over them, the minds of men everywhere will insensibly become alienated from republican forms, and prepared to prefer and acquiesce in governments which, though less friendly to liberty, afford more peace and security.'

"We might fill a volume with extracts of like wisdom and truth, all tending to impress upon the people the necessity of guarding with jealous care those reserved rights on which they depend for self government. The delegation of the right to fill high offices to a select few may tend to rid us of the petty annoyances incident to an election, but the release will hardly compensate us for the injury we thus inflict on the democratic principle which underlies our Government. If we listen to the plea of the demagogue, who seeks his own advancement rather than the welfare of the people, and part with those rights which may be necessary to protect us against bad rulers or oppressive laws, it will not be long before we find ourselves at the mercy of a tyrant without any weapon left for our defense. For this reason I lift my voice against this growing tendency to shift from the shoulders of the people those responsibilities which belong to them. If they are burdensome, it is because they are heavy with precious benefits, and instead of throwing them aside we should strengthen our arms to sustain them. I have acted with those who favor the elective system as the best safeguard for good government, because I deem it the only safe system for the people to adopt; I believe that the nearer we bring our officials to a direct responsibility to the people, the purer will be our form of government; that the closer the relationship between the people and those who serve them, either in a legislative or administrative capacity, the greater will be the care and vigilance exercised, both by the

officer in the execution of his duty; and the people in the execution of theirs. The confidence on one side, and the dependence on the other, begets a mutuality of interest which cannot be otherwise than beneficial to both. I believe in the elective system in theory and in practice, and if I do not mistake the signs of the times, the people are beginning to open their eyes to the dangers which lurk in the immense patronage of the appointive system, not only in our own State but throughout the country. Is it not about time for the intelligent citizen to consider this question, not from a party standpoint, but from the standpoint of patriotism? It is not a question of party, but one of public security, on which all parties ought to be found united. Neither Republicans or Democrats can afford to see this appointive system encroaching upon their time-honored rights without uttering a manly protest against it. In the language of Daniel Webster, 'every encroachment, great or small, is important enough to awaken the attention of those who are intrusted with the preservation of a constitutional government. We are not to wait until great public mischiefs come, till the government is overthrown, or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy.' These words of the great expounder of the Constitution should be written in letters of gold over the gateway of every city and town, to warn the people that little encroachments, trifling in themselves, should be resisted at the very moment of their inception. If not resisted, the citizen will soon become familiarized with their demands, and in time lose all respect for that spirit of independence and sovereignty which has been the characteristic pride of the American people for nearly a century.

"Is it claimed that the people are liable to be corrupted by the free exercise of the elective system? I answer, that this claim if valid must condemn with even greater force the appointive system. A corrupt people will elect corrupt men; these in turn will appoint corrupt officials. If the source is corrupt, every branch and subdivision must of necessity partake of the corruption. The stream cannot flow above its source; neither can officials, elected or appointed, be purer than the creative power. The world's experience proves that it is easy to buy the few, but difficult to purchase the many. The power of gold may break down the public virtue of a dozen, but the bulwark of popular majorities is proof against it.

"If we desire purity in official life, we must go to the source, and first purify that. To seek purification in one of its outlets will be as idle as whistling in the midst of the tempest, in the vain hope of beating back the storm. I have faith in the people. I

have an abiding confidence in their good intentions, judgment, integrity, and capacity for self-government. If they are found wrong in some instances, they are more generally found right in others. The experience of a hundred years proves that they can be trusted in all the details and management of home affairs, and to claim in this age of enlighten-

ment that they cannot is to ignore the logic of history. In the name of the people, whose sovereignty I believe in, and whose rights I seek to protect, I protest against the appointive system as now exercised in our city government, and demand that the right of election shall be restored to the people.

SECOND BULL RUN AND FITZ JOHN PORTER.

The summer of 1862 was the darkest period of the war. The campaign against Richmond had proven a failure. A splendid army had been allowed, through the inactive policy of its commander, to waste away by disease, without inflicting any serious injury on the enemy it confronted. The sagacious Lee saw the growing weakness of the Army of the Potomac, and when the moment came to strike he dealt it a blow at Mechanicsville, our extreme right, which forced it to change front; to seek another line; this time not for attack, but for defense. From a proud army of besiegers, the army of McClellan had become the besieged. The seven days battle tested the valor and endurance of the troops. Never did soldiers fight with greater heroism. They earned the title of veteran troops, and won for the American name a glory that will never fade. The same courage and spirit infused in a forward movement would have swept everything before it. But defensive warfare was the study of McClellan. He could conduct a retreat as well as any living general, but the genius to advance did not belong to his school of tactics. Thus it happened that one of the grandest armies ever brought together on the continent sat down before an enemy half its strength, until it had lost its own, and was forced to seek safety under cover of its gunboats on the line of the James river. The policy of inaction had proven a fatal one, and the country was gloomy with fear and apprehension. General Lee saw that the right moment had come to assume the aggressive. He no longer feared McClellan. That General would not venture an attack on a line of defense which he had been forced to abandon. Relieved from the necessity of

guarding a long line, he strengthened the line in his immediate front, and determined to venture a bold stroke on the city of Washington. He felt that his army could overcome any force opposing it in the Valley of the Shenandoah. By rapid marches and quick blows he would capture the nation's capital before McClellan could come to its assistance. The plan was a bold one; it was perfectly feasible; it would have been successful had not the authorities at Washington taken prompt steps to meet and defeat it. The retreat of General McClellan, or, as he termed it, the change of front, began on the 25th of June. The battle of Mechanicsville was fought on the 26th. On the same day Major General Pope was placed in command of all the forces in the Valley of the Shenandoah. These forces consisted of the 1st corps, under General Fremont, 11,500 strong; 2d corps, under General Banks, 8,000 strong; 3d corps, under General McDowell, 18,400 strong, making a total of 37,900 men. These consolidated forces were to be known as "the Army of Virginia." General Pope had been brought from the West, and had made for himself a brilliant reputation in that section. He was a dashing officer, believed in striking the enemy whenever he presented the opportunity, and not waiting to be struck by him. He found the forces in his new command badly demoralized. The cavalry arm of the service was almost useless, and as he said in a subsequent report "badly mounted and armed and in poor condition for service." In his report of the battle of Second Bull Run he says:

"It was the wish of the Government that I should cover the city of Washington from any attacks from the direction of Richmond,

make such dispositions as were necessary to assure the safety of the Valley of the Shenandoah, and at the same time to so operate upon the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Gordonsville and Charlottesville as to draw off, if possible, a considerable force of the enemy from Richmond and thus relieve the operations against that city of the army of the Potomac." From the start Pope was opposed to the concentration of McClellan's army on the James river. He saw that it would prevent a junction of the two armies, and advised against it. In his report he says :

"When first General McClellan began to intimate by his dispatches that he designed making this movement toward James river, I suggested to the President of the United States the impolicy of such a movement, and the serious consequences which would be likely to result from it, and urged upon him that he should send orders to General McClellan that if he were unable to hold his position upon the Chickahominy, and were pressed by superior forces of the enemy, to mass his whole force on the north side of that stream, even at the risk of losing much material of war, and endeavor to make his way in the direction of Hanover Court-House; but in no event to retreat with his army further to the south than the White House on York river. I stated to the President that the retreat to James river was carrying General McClellan away from any re-enforcements that could possibly be sent him within a reasonable time, and was absolutely depriving him of any substantial aid from the forces under my command; that by this movement the whole army of the enemy would be interposed between his army and mine, and that they would then be at liberty to strike in either direction, as they might consider it most advantageous; that this movement to James river would leave entirely unprotected, except in so far as the small force under my command was able to protect it, the whole region in front of Washington, and that it would then, therefore, be impossible to send any of the forces under my command to re-enforce General McClellan without rendering it certain that the enemy, even

in the worst case for themselves, would have the privilege and power of exchanging Richmond for Washington city; that to them the loss of Richmond would be trifling, while the loss of Washington to us would be conclusive, or nearly so, in its results upon the war." General Pope also addressed a letter to McClellan after he had taken position at Harrison's Landing asking him to freely exchange views as to future operations, and offering to co-operate in any movement that should be made against the enemy. McClellan replied to this in general terms, making no suggestions, and leaving Pope as much in the dark as ever about his intentions. Valuable time was being lost. It was evident that Lee was not unmindful of the chance offered him, and that he was making extraordinary efforts to take advantage of the blunder of McClellan. At the instance of General Pope, who saw the necessity of having a superior to himself and McClellan, to direct the movements of both, General Halleck, on the 11th of July, 1862, was placed in chief command of the armies of the United States, with headquarters at Washington. It soon became known that Lee's army, or the bulk of it, was about to follow the plan foreshadowed by Pope in his interviews with the President. On the 3d of August orders were issued to McClellan to retire from the Peninsula and to bring his army with all possible dispatch to the line of the Rappahannock. He was loth to abandon his position on the James, slow to execute the orders, and not until the 16th of August did he vacate the position which he was ordered to leave on the 3d. All this time his troops were needed to support Pope in his defense of the capitol; all this time Lee was moving with his army to grasp a prize which appeared within easy reach; all this time the small command of Pope were disputing, with bull-dog tenacity, the forward movement of the enemy. On the 9th of August General Banks with but 8,000 men had fallen upon the advance of Lee's army at Cedar Mountain and by desperate fighting had checked their progress. True, Banks was defeated with considerable loss, but he had taught the enemy a lesson to be more cautious in the future, and to understand

that a fighting army stood in the path to the capital. In this light the battle of Cedar Mountain was a success, but in the loss of valuable material which could be ill spared it was a failure. From this date to the 21st of August the advance of the enemy was disputed at every point. Pope did all he could to avoid a general engagement. He knew that he would be overpowered by the superior force in his front. He struck night and day where he could do the most damage with the least loss to himself. His object was to defend the line of the Rappahannock at all hazards; to act on the defensive, slowly falling back to that line in hopes that there he would meet the promised re-enforcements from McClellan's army.

On the 18th of August he had fallen back as far as he could with safety to his lines of communication with Fredericksburg. General Halleck saw the necessity of holding his position and telegraphed to him: "Stand firm on the line of the Rappahannock till I can help you. Fight hard and aid will soon come." This on the 18th of August. Pope held his position on the 19th, yet no re-enforcements. The enemy were gradually turning his right, yet he would not move. So firmly was he convinced that re-enforcements must be near at hand that he saw the fatal flanking movement of the enemy without any effort to defeat it. The 20th passed and yet no re-enforcements. On the 21st General Halleck telegraphed:

"Every effort must be made to hold the Rappahannock. Large forces will be in to-morrow."

On the same day Halleck sends this dispatch: "I have just sent Gen. Burnside's reply. Gen. Cox's forces are coming in from Parkersburgh and will be here to-morrow and the next day. Dispute every inch of ground, and fight like the devil till we can re-enforce you. Forty-eight hours more and we can make you strong enough. Don't yield an inch if you can help it." No help on the 21st, none on the 22d, only 2,500 on the 23d, none on the 24th, none on the 25th, not until the 26th did he receive anything like substantial aid. On the 27th of August he had received only 20,500 troops out of a veteran army of

91,000, ordered to leave Harrison's Landing twenty-four days before this date. This was all the help he received from McClellan, and the bulk of this, it will be seen, failed him in the moment of greatest need. The condition of Pope's army at this date will be best understood by an extract from his report. He says: "From the 18th August, until the morning of the 27th, the troops under my command had been continuously marching and fighting night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had little sleep, were greatly worn down with fatigue, had had little time to get proper food or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed services, laborious, dangerous, and excessive, beyond any previous experience in this country." The total strength of the Army of Virginia, including the 20,500 from the Army of the Potomac, was at this time about 54,000.

It became evident to Pope that he could not maintain the defensive much longer with safety. Stonewall Jackson was massing his forces to turn our right at Bristow Station. This attempt must be defeated at any cost. Hooker held the right, but was nearly out of ammunition. General Pope learning this sent an order on the evening of the 27th to Porter to move forward with his corps at one o'clock in the night so as to report to him at Bristow by daylight.

The officer bearing the dispatch was instructed to conduct Porter's corps by the proper road. But Porter would not move, though assured that it was vital to the safety of the army that he should do so. In his report General Pope says: "General Porter failed utterly to obey the orders that were sent him. He made no attempt whatever to comply with this order, although it was stated to him in the order itself that his presence was necessary on all accounts at daylight, and that the officer delivering the dispatch was instructed to conduct him to the field." This refusal to obey orders by General Porter might have led to the most serious consequences. The occupation of Gainesville by McDowell made it impossible for Jackson,

now pressed by our whole force, to retreat in that direction. He had two ways out of his difficulty. One was to retreat by way of Centreville, with the disadvantage of getting further away from the bulk of Lee's army, or to mass his entire force, attack with vigor our right, and turn it if possible. He adopted the former course, retreated by way of Centreville, rather than risk an attack on a portion of our line which he thought at the time was well strengthened. In regard to this movement General Pope in his report says: "This mistake of Jackson's alone saved us from the serious consequences which would have followed this disobedience of orders on the part of General Porter." With Hooker out of ammunition, and Fitz John Porter asleep on his orders, our right would have offered but little resistance to the desperate charges of Jackson's brigades. But Stonewall didn't know it, and Porter's disobedience cost us nothing at that time. Pope's object, now that Jackson was on the run to Centreville, was to intercept him at or near that point. But his orders were not strictly obeyed. With an enemy in rapid flight, an hour may make or break a plan. Corps ordered to move at midnight did not get underway until after daylight. When they reached the position designated the enemy had got by, sometimes with so close a margin in time as to exchange shots with the advance. Pope was intent on crushing or capturing Jackson. In a dispatch to General Kearney, dated 9 P. M. on the 27th August, he says: "I want you here at day-dawn if possible, and we shall bag the whole crowd. Be prompt and expeditious, and never mind wagon trains or roads till this affair is over." At the same time he wrote to McDowell: "If you will march promptly and rapidly at the earliest dawn of day upon Manassas Junction we shall bag the whole crowd."

McDowell was quick enough to intercept Jackson's retreat. Sigel was on McDowell's right. It looked bright for our forces on the 28th of August. There is no doubt if all the corps commanders showed the same promptness in carrying out orders as did McDowell, we would have won a victory over Jackson on the 28th or 29th before Longstreet could

have come to his assistance, and on the 30th, with an army flushed with success, turned around and defeated the remainder of Lee's army. To show the spirit of Pope on the night of August 28, we copy a few extracts from dispatches sent to Generals Kearney, Heintzelman, and Porter.

To Kearney he said:

"Unless Jackson can escape by paths leading to the North to-night he must be captured."

To Heintzelman he said:

"General McDowell has intercepted the retreat of the enemy. Sigel is immediately on his right, and I see no possibility of his escape."

To Fitz John Porter he said:

"It is very important that you should be here at a very early hour in the morning. A severe engagement is likely to take place and your presence is necessary."

But time was precious. Every hour of delay was in Jackson's favor and against us. Lee and his forces were moving with great rapidity to the relief of Jackson. McClellan's forces were creeping like snails, unmindful of the fate of an army which depended on their coming. On the 29th, before daylight, General Pope discovered that King's division of McDowell's command, that had checked the enemy the night before, had fallen back in the direction of Manassas Junction, thus leaving open the road to Thoroughfare Gap. This at once changed the plan of battle. Sigel was ordered to attack the enemy as soon as it was light enough to make the movement. General Heintzelman was directed to push forward from Centreville toward Gainesville at the earliest dawn with the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, followed closely by General Reno. They were to use all speed and attack the enemy as soon as they came up with him. Generals McDowell and Porter were ordered to move in haste toward Gainesville, on the direct road from Manassas Junction. During the morning of the 29th the fight was fierce and stubborn. Jackson determined to escape the toils which surrounded him. Pope's army determined to prevent it. During the afternoon all the corps except General Porter's did heroic service. Porter had the largest corps on the field, except

that of McDowell. His soldiers were fresh and well disciplined, and composed nearly one-third of the troops under Pope's command. Yet during the whole day, when our troops were fiercely engaged with the enemy, he failed to fire a shot or to move in obedience to the orders he received. At 4.30 P. M., when the final movement was to be made to capture or crush Jackson, Pope sent the following order to General Porter: "Your line of march brings you in on the enemy's right flank. I desire you to push forward into action at once on the enemy's flank, and if possible on his rear, keeping your right in communication with General Reynolds. The enemy is massed in the woods in front of us, but can be shelled out as soon as you engage their flank. Keep heavy reserves, and use your batteries, keeping well closed to your right all the time. In case you are obliged to fall back, do so to your right and rear so as to keep you in close communication with the right wing." Believing that this order would be obeyed, and to insure its success, Generals Heintzelman and Reno were ordered to attack the left of the enemy. The attack was a brilliant one, our men charging the rebels and driving them from their positions. In this attack Grover's brigade of Hooker's division made one of those splendid bayonet charges which drew cheers from those who witnessed it. So great was its force that it broke through two lines of the enemy and penetrated to the third before it was checked. The enemy's left was doubled up in confusion. McDowell fell upon him as he endeavored to gain the Warrenton pike, but the failure of Porter to advance to the attack on the right left that portion of his line intact. Had he obeyed orders and gone into battle as directed there seems to be no doubt that Jackson would have been utterly crushed.

Pope, in his official report, says of this failure:

"About 8 P. M. the greater portion of the field of battle was occupied by our army. Nothing was heard of General Porter up to that time, and his forces took no part whatever in the action, but were suffered by him to lie idle on their arms within sight and

sound of the battle during the whole day. So far as I know, he made no effort whatever to comply with my orders or to take any part in the action. I do not hesitate to say that had he discharged his duty as became a soldier under the circumstances, and had made a vigorous attack on the enemy, as he was expected and directed to do, at any time up to 8 o'clock that night, we should have utterly crushed or captured the larger portion of Jackson's force before he could have been by any possibility sufficiently re-enforced to have made an effective resistance. I did not myself feel for a moment that it was necessary for me, having given General Porter an order to march toward the enemy in a particular direction, to send to him in addition specific orders to attack; it being his clear duty, and in accordance with every military precept, to have brought his forces into action wherever he encountered the enemy, when a furious battle was raging with that enemy during the whole day in his immediate presence. I believe—in fact, I am positive—that at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th, General Porter had in his front no considerable body of the enemy. I believed then, as I am very sure now, that it was easily practicable for him to have turned the right flank of Jackson and to have fallen upon his rear; that, if he had done so, we should have gained a decisive victory over the army under Jackson before he could have been joined by any of the forces of Longstreet; and that the army of General Lee would have been so crippled and checked by the destruction of this large force as to have been no longer in condition to prosecute further operations of an aggressive character."

Longstreet's forces coming up in the evening, Jackson was saved, and the Army of Virginia was forced to assume the defensive, and this through the failure and treachery of a corps commander, who had it in his power by prompt action to have made this battle one of the most brilliant of the war. At 8.50 P. M. of the 29th General Pope sent the following order to General Porter: "Immediately upon receipt of this order, the precise hour of receiving which you will acknowledge, you will march your command to the field of battle of to-day, and report to me in person for orders. You are to understand that you are expected to comply strictly with this order, and to be present on the field within three hours after its reception, or after daybreak to-morrow morning." If instead of this order Pope had put him

under arrest, tried him by drum-head court-martial, and had him shot, the country would have justified the act. Porter's prompt obedience of orders would have saved hundreds of lives on that fatal 30th of August. His treachery exposed our army to a combined attack which cost us dear in blood and treasure. Death on the spot would have been light punishment for the crime which he deliberately committed. Within sound of the battle; within sight of its smoke, almost within hearing of the groans of the wounded and dying, he stood, with 12,000 fresh troops, refusing to obey, not only the orders of his commander, but the urgent call of humanity. His participation in the battle of the 30th, his subsequent action at Antietam, his previous good record as a soldier, cannot outweigh this grave offense of the 29th of August. Had he done his duty as a soldier, and executed his orders on that eventful day, we firmly believe that Lee would have never crossed into Maryland and the bloody battle of Antietam would have been spared the nation. Where was McClellan with his 70,000 veteran troops? Pope in his report says, that up to the 30th he had received no information since the 24th of August of any re-enforcements being sent to his assistance. It is plainly evident, from all the facts now obtainable, that McClellan cared nothing for the fate of Pope's army, and made no effort to push forward to his relief. Pope telegraphed to Washington for rations and forage to be sent to him. On the following morning, the 30th, he received a dispatch from General Franklin, written by direction of General McClellan, informing him that forage and rations would be sent as soon as he forwarded a cavalry escort to bring out the trains. Think of it! General McClellan, with thousands of troops at his command, sorely needed at the front, asks General Pope to send from his own shattered army a force of cavalry to escort back the rations and forage needed by a starving army. Said General Pope in his report: "It was not until I received this letter that I began to feel discouraged and nearly hopeless of any successful issue to the operations with which I was charged; but I felt it to be my duty,

notwithstanding the desperate condition of my command, from great fatigue, from want of provisions and forage, and from the small hope that I had of any effective assistance from Alexandria, to hold my position at all hazards and under all privations, unless overwhelmed by the superior forces of the enemy." Well might he feel discouraged. A great army almost within sound of his guns held back by the jealousy of its commander; a corps commander from that army resting with 12,000 troops on the very edge of a desperate battle-field, refusing to fire a shot in his behalf. Did he not have good and sufficient reasons for feeling discouraged? On the 30th, with more gallantry than discretion, he reopened the fight. He tried to wrest victory from defeat. Had fresh troops come to his assistance he would have crushed the rebel army, but with an army already overtasked, he could do no more than make a stubborn fight. With great odds against him, Pope held his ground until darkness came to cover his retreat. Never had men fought better; never did a general more deserve a victory. But they were overmatched; borne down by weight of metal and weight of numbers. Under cover of darkness they withdrew from a field they could no longer hold, and the morning of the 31st found them strongly intrenched in the vicinity of Centreville. This day was devoted to rest; to reorganizing the commands; to active preparation for work yet to be done. On the 1st of September Pope struck another blow at the rebel army. The enemy endeavored to turn his right, but the heavy punishment inflicted upon him drove him back. In this action General Kearney, the bravest of the brave—almost an army within himself—fell mortally wounded. September 2d found Lee still crowding his forces to flank our right. Unable to longer withstand the terrible brunt of superior numbers, worn down with constant marching and fighting, Pope reluctantly withdrew his army from Centreville, and brought it safely within the intrenchments of Washington. Thus closed the eventful campaign of the Army of Virginia. The nation will never know how much it owes to that army for the preservation of the capital. It stood a line

of fire and steel between it and the invading army of Lee. Had it shown less courage there is no doubt that Washington would have fallen into the hands of the rebels before the army of the Potomac could have come to its relief. It deserved a better fate than defeat. It would have returned crowned with victory had McDowell or Heintzelman been in the place of McClellan and Franklin, or had a true soldier worn the sword disgraced by Porter on the 29th of August. But the nation survived the sacrifice of this noble army. Fitz John Porter was tried by court-martial, and found guilty as charged. He was cashiered the service, and rendered forever ineligible to hold position of trust or responsibility under the United States Government. He has asked from time to time to have the case reopened, but thus far he has failed. He claims to have new facts which might tend to change the judgment of the court. But no facts at this late day can change the facts based on his own admission and the clear testimony of those who were present at the time of the battle. If the rigors of war could be carried out in times of peace, there is but one condition on which his case should be reopened, and that is, if again found guilty he should suffer death, the true punishment for the crime he committed. But having linked his fortunes with the Democratic party and received from it the responsible position of Commissioner of Public Works in the city of New York, we presume that party will do its best to reverse the judgment long since passed by a court-martial and indorsed by the American people. He served the Democratic party when he sacrificed Pope at Groveton, and whenever the party has the power why should it not serve him by restoring him to the army from which he was dismissed in disgrace?

Will the people sanction this outrage on the memory of those who lost their lives through his treachery? We shall see if his recent appointment to a responsible office under the Democratic party is the true voice of the people or the act of a party that hates loyalty as Porter hated Pope.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.—The following statement of the situation in the South is from E. H. Cheney, brother of the Republican candidate for Governor of New Hampshire, who is now stopping at Jacksonville, Florida, from which place he is writing interesting letters to his paper, the *Free Press*, Lebanon, N. H. Mr. Cheney is a careful observer and a candid and conscientious writer. He says:

I have said nothing in these letters as yet about politics, and do not intend in them largely to discuss political issues. But at a time like this I cannot close without giving expression to my conviction, intensified by what I have seen and heard since I left home, and particularly in Georgia, that if the Republicans of the North do not now rally *en masse* around the Administration and policy of General Grant, the golden opportunity to redeem this Southern country and place her on the road to a better civilization will have passed away. It will take long years to recover the ground that will have been lost. The only hope of the South is in the education of her people. I discover no evidence that the Southern "Conservatives" will ever in any general sense provide for this. Not even the Southern churches manifest any interest in the education of the negro, and if the churches stand aloof, what can we expect of those outside the church. They tell you they "accept the situation," and have no wish to re-establish slavery or to deprive the negro of his rights. But they will not lift so much as a finger to make him an intelligent voter, and when through his ignorance he becomes the tool of wicked and designing men and political demagogues, they will say, "Behold the result of your negro suffrage." They say they will treat the negro kindly, and so they do, just as they treat the dumb beast kindly. But they do not recognize his manhood; they deny that he is a man. It is time to decide now whether these four millions of people, who have made as rapid advancement in civilization in the last ten years as ever a people did, are to be given wholly and irremediably over to the mercy of these "Conservatives." Once let this foul wrong be consummated, and nothing but fresh seas of blood will ever break the new shackles, little less galling than the old, with which these people will be bound. It is a question infinitely transcending in importance any that can arise from any doubtful exercise of the military power, in a community where, as in New Orleans, law and order have not even a name to live, and where only military power is respected. That these "Conservatives" mean to crush out the negro as a political power, and with him all who would accord to him the common rights of manhood, is beyond all question.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

A statue of this eminent man has recently been set up in the Capitol, and of the multitudes who have gazed upon it how many have openly or silently inquired, "Who was Robert R. Livingston?"

The statue itself cannot fail to win attention and admiration. It stands in the old "Representatives Hall," in company with Hamilton, Jefferson, Clinton, Trumbull, Greene, Roger Williams, and others. Some of these are in bronze, and some in marble. Livingston is in bronze. The State of New York has selected for its two representatives in this gallery of statues George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston. H. K. Browne is the sculptor of the former, and E. D. Palmer of the latter. Palmer is a native of New York; Browne was born in Massachusetts. Their works challenge the criticism of the world of art.

But in this place we propose to speak of the life and character of Livingston—we might say of the "Livingston family." The Empire State in its early political history had not only a "Clinton family"—James, George, and De Witt—but a "Livingston family"—Philip, Brockholst, Robert, and Edward. Philip was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Brockholst, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Edward was Mayor of New York, Secretary of State, and Minister to France. There were others in the family of less prominence, perhaps, but nevertheless distinguished for their patriotism, learning, and high character. William was Governor of New Jersey during the Revolutionary war, and a delegate to the convention which framed the Federal Constitution.

Robert R. was born in the city of New York in 1747, and died in 1813. In 1773 he was appointed Recorder of the city under the Crown. He soon afterward espoused the Republican cause, and was deprived of his office. A member of the Continental Congress, he was one of the committee of five, with Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and Sherman, appointed to draft a declaration of indepen-

dence. He was prevented from signing it by necessary absence from Philadelphia engaged in other labors in furtherance of the cause. In 1780 he was again a member of the Continental Congress, and in 1781 was Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He was at the same time Chancellor of the State of New York, in which office he acquired a great reputation as a jurist. He administered the oath to President Washington at his first inauguration, on the 30th of April, 1789, proclaiming in impressive tone, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

Washington tendered to Livingston the office of Minister to France, which he declined. Mr. Jefferson, in 1800, invited him to a seat in the Cabinet, which he also declined. Jefferson afterward pressed upon him the office of Minister to France. This time he accepted, and in 1803 he completed the purchase of Louisiana from France—an achievement sufficient, alone, to immortalize his name. What act of diplomat or statesman can rival it! The annexation of Louisiana to the United States was the acquisition of all the territory now included in the great States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas. The sale of this immense territory by Napoleon was nevertheless one of his master strokes of policy. He not only replenished his treasury, but saved these great possessions from falling into the hands of enemies, while he transferred them to a friendly power; unable, moreover, for want of naval force, to defend them. Florida now came naturally into our dominion under a treaty with Spain; Oregon was acquired by discovery and occupation; Texas by "annexation;" New Mexico, California, and Utah by war; and Alaska by purchase. So the imperial flags of Russia, France, and Spain no longer flaunt upon our borders.

While Livingston was negotiating the purchase in Paris, he one day dined with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the table was a young man who seemed possessed with one idea, and when conversa-

tion became general he almost importunately pressed his idea upon the attention of the company, saying: "If you will only make up for me a purse or show me a bank that will lend me five thousand dollars, I will put a boat on the Hudson river which will make the passage from New York to Albany at four miles an hour without being driven by oars or sails." That young man was Robert Fulton. Livingston became the friend and patron of Fulton, supplying him with money and never forsaking him until success was achieved. One of the earliest steamboats on the Hudson bore the popular name of "Chancellor Livingston." Fulton married a Livingston, distantly related to the Chancellor.

In 1804 Livingston resigned his office of Minister to France, and returning home after an extended tour of Europe, became engaged in introducing into his native State improvements in agriculture, and in measures for the encouragement of the fine arts among his countrymen.

He was also prominent among those who projected the system of canals which made New York indeed the Empire State. Both Livingston and Fulton were on the Board of Commissioners appointed by the Legislature in 1811 to consider all matters relating to inland navigation. After the successful introduction of steam navigation on the Hudson river Fulton and Livingston enjoyed a special grant of monopoly in carrying passengers. The Legislature bestowed this privilege upon them as "public benefactors." The Supreme Court of the United States, however, declared the grant unconstitutional. The Legislature had ten years previously offered this monopoly to any party who would produce a boat impelled by steam at the rate of three miles an hour. In 1797 Chancellor Livingston built a boat to obtain this prize, but it was a failure. In 1807 Fulton succeeded in running a steam boat from New York to Albany at the rate of five miles an hour. For six years Livingston enjoyed the progress and success which Fulton pursued with so much zeal. Fulton survived his friend two years, dying in 1815, leaving steam navigation an accomplished fact.

Chancellor Livingston in early life was a Federalist. Hamilton was greatly assisted by him in securing the adoption of the Constitution by the State of New York against a powerful opposition. The Clintons were anti-Federalists, but consented to the ratification under conditions.

About the year 1790 Livingston began to show opposition to Hamilton's measures, the funding of the national debt and the chartering of a United States bank, and soon joined the Jeffersonian party. In 1797 he gave as a toast at a public dinner in New York, "May the present coolness between France and America produce, like the quarrels of lovers, a renewal of love!" and before the election of Jefferson to the Presidency occurred he was known as a decided Republican. John Adams had received the electoral votes of New York without much opposition, but soon after his election his popularity began to wane; even Hamilton deserted him. Jefferson was the acknowledged candidate of the Republicans for the succession, but there were three candidates for the nomination of Vice President, George Clinton, Robert R. Livingston, and Aaron Burr. Livingston was set aside, it is said, on account of his deafness. Burr, with his talent for intrigue, crowded Clinton off and secured the nomination for himself. Jefferson and Burr as is well known received an equal number of electoral votes. New York was unanimous. Among the electors was Gilbert Livingston, who carried with him nearly the whole Livingston family over to Jefferson.

John Jay twice, at least, defeated the political aspirations of Chancellor Livingston. In 1789 President Washington appointed the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1798 Jay was the Federal candidate for Governor, and Livingston the Republican nominee. The latter was defeated at the polls.

President Jefferson almost immediately after his inauguration appointed the Chancellor Minister to France; Brockholst he made a Justice of the Supreme Court; and Edward District Attorney for New York.

John Jay retired to private life, and Burr killed Hamilton, which, with the defection

of the Livingston family, finished the Federal party in New York.

There was afterward no successful opposition to the Republican or Democratic party for forty years in that State. De Witt Clinton broke its ranks in 1824, but its complete overthrow was not accomplished until William H. Seward was elected Governor in 1838. George Clinton was elected Vice President in 1804; Daniel D. Tompkins in 1816; Martin Van Buren in 1832, and President in 1836. Marcy and Wright and Young were among the leaders of that powerful party.

It will be conceded, we think, that Clinton and Livingston are wisely chosen as representative men in the nation's Pantheon, to be perpetuated in bronze. On the roll of fame Hamilton's name leads all the rest, but he was not a native son of New York. The Republic has chosen him, and he stands in marble near by to Clinton and Livingston.

Robert R. Livingston's name is made illustrious by three great events :

1. The acquisition of Louisiana.
2. Rapid transportation by steam.
3. Cheap transportation by canals.

His example may be emulated by the statesmen of the present day.

We return now to the statue. Our incompetency to criticise it as a work of art makes us loth to express the admiration we feel. Mr. Palmer is known favorably as the author of a number of works of fancy in marble, and as the sculptor of several busts of eminent men. This, we believe, is his first attempt at a colossal statue. We think he may be proud of it. The Chancellor is represented at about the age of fifty-five, standing erect, his judicial robe hanging gracefully in rather scanty folds from his broad shoulders. His head is not remarkable, and his face indicates an active rather than a broad intellect, an honest rather than a great soul. As a bystander remarked, "that is a man not to be bought." The whole statue is full of expression, in striking contrast with some mechanical executions in the same building. In his right hand he holds a scroll inscribed "Louisiana."

WHAT IT TAKES TO FEED THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.—While there has been of late years

a marked increase in the agricultural productions of Great Britain, there has been an increase, much more rapid and striking, in the importation of food from other countries, showing that the demand is out of all proportion to the home supply. The London *Agricultural Gazette* speaks on this point as follows:

"It is worth while to bear in mind that the growing deficiencies of our agriculture are quite as extraordinary as its growing capabilities. The produce of meat, and even of corn, has certainly very largely increased over great tracts in many counties—but what about the far more rapid growth of imports of both corn and meat? It is not too much to say that the value of cattle, dairy produce, meat, and grain imported into this country last year equals, if it does not exceed, the entire agricultural rental of the United Kingdom. And the apparent inability of the land to feed its people—at all events the deficiency of our own agricultural produce, which we have to make up by imports from abroad—is growing year by year. Since 1840 our annual imports of wheat and flour have increased five-fold; of barley nearly as much; of oats seven-fold; of butter and cheese six-fold; and of beef, meat, bacon, pork, fifty-fold. Our people consume so immensely more than we can grow for them at home!"

THE Democratic party has full control of the State of New York and yet the times continue as hard as ever. "Give us the State!" shouted the demagogues at the last election, "and you will have plenty of work." With idle men seeking employment these pledges had great weight.

Work was what they wanted, and if the Democratic party could give it to them they were ready to support it. To-day, these dupes stand in idleness, convinced that even Democratic supremacy cannot remove hard times, or the causes which produce them.

It is a popular idea that the party in power is responsible for hard times, when, in fact, it has no more influence over business derangements than it has over the movement of the tides. If we seek to correct these derangements we must look to the business, not the political circles of the land. We must restore business confidence, practice economy, awaken public and private enterprise, and aid our neighbors by setting an example ourselves of industry and thrift.

THE LATE ELECTIONS—THE RESULT AND THE FUTURE PRESS OPINIONS AND THE POPULAR SENTIMENT.

FULL RETURNS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

The full vote of the State of New Hampshire is now in, and foots up as follows: For Governor—Cheney, 39,285; Roberts, 39,163; White, 754. Total vote, 79,202. Cheney over Roberts, 122. For Congressmen: First district—Whitehouse, (Rep.,) 13,619; Jones, (Dem.,) 14,004; scattering, 326. Jones' plurality, 385. Second district—Pike, (Rep.,) 12,936; Bell, (Dem.,) 13,082; scattering, 202. Bell's plurality, 147. Third district—Blair, (Rep.,) 12,388; Kent, (Dem.,) 12,184; scattering, 163. Blair's plurality, 207.

Of the five councilors elect, two are Republicans and three are Democrats. The State Senate stands five Republicans and five Democrats, with no choice in districts two and four. The House of Representatives will stand 192 Republicans and 181 Democrats, and the Republicans, having eleven majority in that body, will be able, in joint convention of the two houses, to fill the vacancies in the Senate with two Republicans and elect the Republican candidates for Governor and railroad commissioner. The Republicans will have possession of all but the council. Their victory is, therefore, nearly if not quite complete.

The reader will find in the following quotations from the newspaper press a very full and reliable expression of the public sentiment on the result of the Pennsylvania and New Hampshire elections, and the prospects of the country in view of the Presidential campaign in 1876:

MAINE.

Everything in New Hampshire was in the iron grip of the Democracy. That party held every department of the State—executive, judicial, and legislative—as in a vice, and compelled each to do its bidding. At all events, that party resolved to be its own successor. But the Republicans, with equal resolution, met these cohorts, and, with a gallantry unequalled in political warfare, made a net gain of 2,000 votes, defeated the Democratic candidate for Governor, and

elected a majority of the Legislature. This secures two departments of the State government in Republican hands; and consequently gives it more than half a loaf, while before it had no bread. No opposition shooting has greeted this result, and the hopes, deferred by this little skirmish, are bitter to contemplate.—*Democrat, Oxford.*

We doubt not that the New Hampshire political tour of the ex-rebel officers, Gordon and Lamar, will result in some profit. To be sure the people of New Hampshire did not follow the advice of the late Confederate officers and vote the Democratic ticket as "a balm for every woe;" but they gave the Georgia and Mississippi gentlemen a candid and deferential hearing, and showed them how here in the North we respect differing political views and allow every man to vote as seems to him best. We have here no Kuklux bands or White Leagues to murder men who vote another ticket, and no organizations intended to intimidate voters. It must have seemed strange to these Southern gentlemen to observe the absence of all these "peculiarities" of the chivalry, and especially to learn that when any persons are here elected to office it is the prevailing custom to recognize them as authorities for the time being; and, even if we dislike them, to wait until their term of office expires, instead of shooting them or hanging them to the nearest lamp-post.

These Confederate officers can also return South and tell their people that Southerners can reside or travel at the North without molestation or insult; that the negroes are permitted to vote without interference, and without danger to the public; that the white children and black children attend school on equal terms, without danger to their morals and without effect upon the social relations of either; that the colored people ride in our public conveyances without disturbing others or being disturbed themselves; and that the right to visit places of amusement or stop at first-class hotels is never exercised so as to give trouble to hotel keepers or theatrical managers. They can tell their constituents that the things they most complain of, and to overturn which they seek to arouse the country, exist here, causing no trouble and creating no alarm.

For these and other reasons, we doubt not that the visit of these eminent Southerners to New Hampshire will do them good, and will be indirectly instrumental in opening the eyes of their Southern constituents to the true character of successful free institu-

tions. By all means come again, gentlemen!—*Journal, Lewiston.*

MASSACHUSETTS.

The general significance of the result is only that the tidal wave of last fall against the Republican party is stayed—that there is an “arrest of judgment” between the two national parties, plainly enough entered as a condemnation of the silly and wicked partisanship exhibited by the Democracy, both locally and nationally, or as an encouragement to the caution and conscience that became dominant at last in the Republican legislation of Congress. But the most important political effect of the failure of the Democracy to go on with their conquering march will probably be seen in its influence upon their leaders throughout the country. But it is a rebuke of their gross misinterpretation of last year’s victories, and a suggestion to them that the people of the country are nowise disposed to restore the old Democratic party, pure and simple, with its old traditions, sympathies, prejudices, and purposes, to national power.—*Republican, Springfield, Ind.*

The verdict of New Hampshire is a hopeful one, and indicates, so far as it has any national significance, that the people are not yet ready to put the great interests and destinies of this nation in the power of any other party than that which, in spite of manifold and sometimes disheartening failures, has on the whole administered its affairs with splendid success.—*Boston Advertiser.*

NEW YORK.

While wise Republicans will not hastily regard the doubtful result in New Hampshire as making easy their political path, it at least indicates pretty clearly that the Democrats are not “now returning to power.”—*New York Post.*

In a word, the Republicans of New Hampshire have won their sweeping and encouraging victory by first deserving it and then working hard for it. It is a plain path that they have chosen, and one open to Republicans everywhere. The example they have set has only to be followed to secure a victory throughout the country as decisive and gratifying as the one gained yesterday.—*New York Times.*

The defeat of the Democracy in New Hampshire comes with more startling effect because of its contrast with the tremendous victories achieved by that party last fall. These triumphs were foreshadowed a year ago by the election of a Democratic Legislature and Governor in the Granite State, and the result of yesterday’s election will be a bitter disappointment to those who supposed the Democratic party had made permanent

conquests of the Northern States.—*New York Herald.*

The result in New Hampshire will exhort and inspire the Republicans of the whole land. It is better than we had dared to hope. It is enough to give a new aspect to the entire political field. Measured by any possible test—by the actual fruits, by the decided Republican gains, by the moulding issues and the manifest drift—its grand moral force is apparent and undeniable. To the Democracy it comes like a sudden and portentous cloud across the sunshine of their hopes. To the Republicans it comes with all the quickening inspiration of new courage and confidence. To the whole country it gives assurance that the battle of ’76 will be fought with tremendous vigor.—*N. Y. Evening Journal.*

The result in the New Hampshire election is such as to satisfy every intelligent man that the political reaction has set in. Last year that State went Democratic by a large and overpowering majority.

It was the first appearance of the “great tidal wave” which later in the year swept over the country, overwhelming timid Republicans in the gulf of despondency and raising the hopes of volatile Democrats to the topmost pinnacle of exultation. In 1840 when the “great tidal wave” swept over the political field in this country, Martin Van Buren asked his friends to wait for the “sober second thought of the people” before they gave up in despair. The result in New Hampshire is evidence that the people have reached the “sober second thought,” and the Republican party, its measures, and principles will be sustained.

New Hampshire has set the ball rolling for the Presidential contest of 1876.—*Times, Oswego.*

The heart of the nation is with the Republican party; and even those who are seriously disaffected know of no place for them elsewhere. The Liberal Republicans even are about as much out in the cold as if they had never forsaken their old friends and party fealty.—*Statesman, Yonkers.*

The Democracy had control of the field, and wielded all the machinery of the State.

As soon as they assumed control last year they proceeded to turn out all the Republicans in office, and their places were filled with active Democrats. The State was redistricted and every means adopted to retain the Democratic ascendancy.

Under these adverse circumstances the Republicans entered into the contest, and the result shows that the people want no more of Democratic rule in that State.—*Republican and Democrat, Cooperstown.*

The vigor of the New Hampshire campaign

is an earnest of the spirit with which all the political battles of this year will be fought. What Ligny was to Waterloo, these preliminary struggles will be to the great Presidential contest of next year. Both sides will enter them with a full recognition of their important influence upon what promises to be the most exciting and evenly balanced national canvass since 1860.—*Journal, Albany*.

The Republican party has reason to congratulate itself when it takes a retrospective view, pointing, as it can, with pride to the measures it has professed and given to the country, and which have proved blessings to the nation; and when it remembers that all its great measures and efforts, from the time it first sat out to save the nation to the present, were fought inch by inch by the Democratic party. The future of this great Republic depends almost entirely upon the action of the Republican party, and upon it alone can the people lean with confidence and with the assurance of a full development of the nation's greatness. And this is but common sense.—*Journal, Nyack*.

NEW JERSEY.

There is no mistaking the meaning of the New Hampshire verdict just rendered any more than there was last year when the State led off in a Democratic victory. It shows that the Republicans who voted against their party because they could not have everything just as they wanted it are heartily sick of the "change" they effected, and have determined to exert their influence for the future in the ranks of the party to which they belong, and where it can be made potent in the correction of errors or abuses of which they may have had just cause to complain. In our own city of Newark and throughout the State this feeling is so apparent as to warrant the prediction that if an election was to be held to-morrow the Democratic majority of last fall would be completely reversed.—*Courier, Newark*.

PENNSYLVANIA.

It is well for the nation if the scales are falling from the people's eyes so that they can see the precipice toward which they are stepping when they invest with the political power of the country the men and party that, but a few years ago, were in arms to destroy free government on this continent. The world must have regarded with amazement the inexplicable hallucination that could have induced the American people to bring to civil power the men who had so recently laid off the rebel uniform and groaned the rebel arms, or to give flattering hopes of complete ascendancy to the Democratic party, which denied the right of the majority to rule, and schemed to destroy the Government when the people voted it out of power.

The New Hampshire election shows that the people are becoming alarmed—as well they may—when they see the popular branch of our National Legislature passing under rebel control, and when they contemplate the desperate determination evinced by the same element to grasp all departments of political power. The alarm is not coming a moment too early for the national safety and welfare.—*Courier, Lebanon*.

This result is of deep significance and indicates that the "tidal wave" has spent its fury, and that the voters are still right at heart, and we may expect to hear of but few more Democratic successes. The lesson designed to be taught the Republican party last year has been heeded, and wherever our party puts in nomination good and true men we may safely trust for triumph. In New Hampshire our party put only good men in nomination, and although the battle was fought with determination on both sides our friends were successful. We may expect the same result in our own State next fall if our party leaders have the sagacity to nominate only men of sterling integrity. We lost a half a score of Congressmen last year simply because we nominated men in whom the people had no confidence, and who were known to be political tricksters and demagogues, interested alone in their own advancement and caring not one penny for the welfare of the people from whom they expected support. Let us learn wisdom from past experience and improve in our nominations and all will be well, and victory once more will perch upon our banners.—*Messenger, Indiana*.

The line is sharply drawn, and if the Republican party will reorganize, stop its internal dissensions, kick out the camp-followers, send its bad generals to the rear, follow the leadership of its best men, and stand by its principles, the New Hampshire victory can be repeated in every State.—*Citizen, Venango*.

Ex-rebel generals were sent to New Hampshire to stump for the Democratic ticket. They served as a good reminder to the people that too many of that class are now in Congress. We have indeed fallen upon strange times when we can read on the roll of the forthcoming lower house of Congress the names of four Confederate soldiers to one who wore the Union blue. No fact more plainly determines the tendencies of the two great political parties.—*American, Medina*.

WEST VIRGINIA.

The Republicans having rebuked the corrupt men of their own party who abused their trust, are now turning their attention to that organization which conspired to destroy the country, and this victory in New Hampshire is but the first moving of the

avalanche that is once more to overwhelm the abettors of rebellion and violence.—*State Journal, Parkersburg.*

When it is recollect that the Democracy went into the canvass hopeful from a late resurrection, and determined to win if misrepresentation and appeals to prejudice could accomplish it, the defeat is marked and ominous. Reaction has evidently set in. One short year of Democratic rule has brought about its legitimate disgust in the popular mind. New Hampshire may be taken as the drift of public opinion over the entire North. In no sense can it be construed into an indorsement of the revolutionary Democracy. Let our Republican column take heart and move forward all along the line. Concert of action and thorough organization will propel the reactionary wave to a grand billow in 1876.—*Journal, Charleston.*

The result was a clear indication that the people begin to understand the revolutionary purposes of the Democratic party. The utterances on the floor of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the reckless disregard of individual rights, fundamental laws, and personal obligations manifested throughout the entire South by the Democratic leaders, have forced the conviction upon the popular mind that the success of the Democratic party, as now organized, in 1876, means revolution and civil war. This belief is quietly and rapidly spreading among the masses, and the elections from now until the Presidential contest closes will demonstrate that the people still repose confidence in the national conservative purposes of the Republican party, and regard it as alone capable of restoring peace, quiet, and prosperity to the country.—*Virginian, Staunton.*

NORTH CAROLINA.

Coming on, as it did, after the adjournment of Congress, the election in New Hampshire is a complete indorsement of the most important measures recently passed, and proves that the people are keeping pace with the great party of progress and reform. The triumph in New Hampshire may be considered as the key-note to the entire North, and is significant of our great victory in 1876.—*Era, Raleigh.*

ALABAMA.

The best of all is, that Gordon, of Georgia, and Lamar, of Mississippi, went into the canvass in that State to enlighten "Brother Jonathan," and the result demonstrates the strength of their influence. It is said that they made very conservative speeches. We have no doubt of it; but the people of that State were too wise to be caught by such stuff.—*State Journal, Montgomery.*

OHIO.

The Democrats have had for a year com-

plete possession of the State Government in all its departments, executive and legislative. During that time they succeeded in thoroughly disgusting the people with Democratic rule. They accomplished little or no good, and much mischief. Their record for the year is one of broken promises and misdeeds. They managed to leave undone pretty much all they ought to have done, and they did a great deal they ought not to have done, and the people came to the conclusion there was no health in them. The experiment of changing from Republican to Democratic rule was such a dead failure that it was not surprising there was an anxiety to change back again.—*Herald, Cleveland.*

The Granite State nobly wheeled out of the Democratic line and walked up with a Republican victory. Returns indicate uniform gains throughout the State; this, too, in the face of great Democratic predictions that there was no more hope for the Republican party. It will have the effect of stirring up both parties to a realization of the fact that the battle of 1876 will be fought in the State elections of 1875. The outlook is promising for the Republican party.—*Buckeye State, New Lisbon.*

INDIANA.

The reaction of that tidal wave is just beginning to set in. Pennsylvania in her recent local elections returns Republicans to office with her old time rousing majorities. Philadelphia gives 12,000 Republican majority out of a total vote of 80,000. Lancaster, which was a tie last year, now gives 454 majority for the same side. Reading, the old Democratic stronghold, which last fall gave 300 Democratic majority, now tallies the same majority on the other side. Harrisburg, also, which went Democratic last fall, now gives 550 Republican majority. Allegheny, Newcastle, Meadville, Erie, Titusville, and Wilkesbarre, and such county seats as Allentown, Easton, Norristown, West Chester, Lebanon, Pottsville, and Tyrone also all show a commendable desire to return to their first love.

The thousands of Republicans in Pennsylvania who voted for the "Reform" Democratic ticket last fall are now heartily disgusted at the broken promises of the Reformers, and have returned to their "first love," and the result is, the old Bourbons are experiencing a series of reverses all over the State wherever the people can get a blow at them.—*Enterprise, Mishawaka.*

New Hampshire is again a Republican State. This is a strong symptom that the force of the Democratic movement to the front has been spent. The reaction will be the other way a while. The great mass of the people of the North have been willing to

criticise with severity the extravagance of the Republican party, and to condemn in some respect the policy of the Administration. The question of placing the Government in the hands of the old Democratic party is now coming before the people. It is a most grave question. The tone of the Democracy, flushed with the promise of success, has not made a favorable impression upon the people at large. The result in New Hampshire is an indication of the tendencies of public opinion.—*Palladium, Richmond.*

ILLINOIS.

The wave of public indignation which overtook the Republican party in last fall's elections seems to be rolling back with considerable force. The Pennsylvania local elections of last week show something like the old Republican majorities. Philadelphia gives 12,000 majority in a vote of 80,000, electing large majorities of magistrates, select and common councilmen, school directors and other officers. Lancaster, a tie last year, elects a Republican mayor by 454 majority, and nearly all the council and school board. The Democratic city of Reading, which four months ago gave 300 Democratic majority, now gives 300 Republican majority. Harrisburg, always doubtful, and which last fall gave a Democratic majority, now gives 550 Republican majority, electing nearly all the councilmen. Pittsburg, which went Democratic last fall, and Allegheny, which was about equally divided, now give Republican majorities, and elect the city councils and other officers. The absurd and deceitful promises held out by the opposition last fall it is seen were "a delusion and a snare," and in addition to the general "breach of promise" the Pittsburg *Commercial* says the public sentiment of the State has been outraged by the election to the United States Senate of a "ballot-box stuffing politician."—*Republican, Ottawa.*

IOWA.

Observing the fruits of last fall's Democratic successes, Republicans have awakened to the dangers of apathy or of Democratic ascendancy. The honest voters of the old Granite State bethought themselves of that party when, as *Harper's Weekly* some time ago put it, its cabinet in the White House was a nest of traitorous conspiracy; when its ex-President, Pierce, wrote that the blood of the war would flow in Northern streets; when its mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, tried to smuggle arms to rebels; when its Governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, in the midst of war, denounced the Administration, and warned it that the doctrine of public necessity could be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government—a direct incitement, under the circumstances, of the

mob that nine days afterward ravaged the city; the country, we say, has seen something of the Democratic party, and knows that it has been always controlled by its most reckless and desperate element.

These are some of the reasons of this remarkable change in the sentiments of the people of New Hampshire; and their vote is the lesson they tender for the instruction of the Democratic party. Speaker Blaine, with prophetic eye, saw the sure indications of the "healthy reaction against the temporary reverses of last year," and the nearly 3,000 Republican gain in that one small State proves that our party still retains its old time vitality, energy, and pluck, and that on great occasions, as in times past, it can bear the popular helm a-port and guide the country to the haven of peace and security.

New Hampshire is the first gun in the Presidential campaign of 1876.—*Times, Dubuque.*

While the Southern people exhibited a disposition to honestly accept the issues of the war and the settlement made under the constitutional amendments; while they made loud professions of good faith, there seemed to be much disposition on the part of many Republicans to have somewhat of confidence in them, and then arose a feeling of division among Republicans upon other issues. As a consequence of all this, the old incentive did not exist to call out the full Republican vote. We feel even that for two years past, and especially during the last fall elections, the Republican vote was not out to the polls into hundreds of thousands, and other tens of thousands of Republicans were throwing away their votes upon side issues throughout the whole country.

Eighty-odd rebel ex-military officers and ex-civil officers of the late Confederate Government elected to the Forty-fourth Congress; the old rebel insolence hurled from the floor of the United States Senate, defiantly announcing that Phil. Sheridan was not fit to breathe the free air of the country; the chafing for Sheridan's blood in New Orleans; the murder of thousands of white and colored men in Louisiana and other States for political opinion's sake; the pliant tool which the Democratic party made of itself, just as of old, for Southern pro-slavery Democracy; all these things, and many others we have not mentioned, have aroused the fears of Republicans, and they flock again around the old standard. We are confident the deviltry of this same old Democratic party is again calling down upon it the vengeance of an outraged people, and that from this on the elections will show the effects of the aroused, traduced, and mighty old Republican party, whose deeds have made the most glorious history of this century.—*Courier, Ottumwa.*

Now that the dust and smoke of the battle in New Hampshire have cleared away, it is possible to ascertain results and see how the two parties stand. The result shows a reaction. The current has stopped in its onward course and turned the other way. It shows that the deluge of November was not completely overwhelming. It gives the Republicans of New Hampshire a position from which they can hardly be dislodged, and it argues that, notwithstanding the reverse of last year, the Republican party is still alive, strong in the popular confidence, and that its principles are still necessary to the welfare of the Government.—*Republican, Montezuma*.

New Hampshire is a well-balanced, conservative State, and the voice of her people, expressed as it was in this election in a popular way, may be taken as a fair index of the fact, of which we have no serious doubt, that the whole country is still firmly Republican. The legitimate gain in the Republican vote over last year is about 3½ per cent., which the *State Register* estimates would equal about 15,000 votes in such a State as Iowa. This we consider a gain of which our party may well boast, and an encouraging indication of another rousing victory for the grand old party in '76.—*Patriot, Charlton*.

MICHIGAN.

The Republicans have rested very quietly, in a reflective state of mind, for the past five months, waiting for the opposition storm of vilification, abuse, and blow generally to spend its strength; and upon looking over the field, the track of the gale, we find a few wrecks, occasionally a deep injury done the country, a few more rebel landmarks in Washington, but generally speaking, the party, the mass of Republicans, have been improved by the scourge, and come out this spring, with the desire for change fully satisfied, the Democratic dust out of their eyes, their brains cleared of the confusion of ideas—in fact the predisposition of the party to political foundering completely frozen out. Now what is to be done? New Hampshire is the first to answer emphatically, though the local elections in Pennsylvania and in this State were gratifying precursors of the good time coming. The first thing to attend to is your local elections, which are really of more vital consequence to yourselves personally than all the other elections combined. The voter who is so listless, lazy brained, and lazy in body as to take no interest in the well being of the community in which he lives, in local taxation, local roads, schools, and all the things that preserve intact the inheritance of local self-government, ought to move across the straits.—*Gazette, Pontiac*.

This great victory, at this time, will carry with it to the hearts of each and every honest citizen the assurance that the integrity of the nation is arousing; that the lethargy which years of prosperity has thrown around us is being shaken off, and that the resurrected Democracy can prepare for reburial in 1876. The issues argued upon every stump were those relative to Southern troubles, the Democratic element urging as their road to peace such sentiment as the following, taken from the *Manchester Union*: “Our own opinion is, that there is never to be peace and prosperity in this country again until the negro is suppressed as a political power. The Southern people should understand this, and instead of courting him, fight him.” While opposing this was the whole Republican record on the side of equal rights, the late civil rights bill, and a future prospect of ultimate peace and universal freedom.—*Courier, Paw Paw*.

This looks as if the “tidal wave” had spent its fury, and that the return wave was going to sweep the recent slazy fabrics of the Democratic party from their slimy foundations. All that is now wanting is for the Republicans to awake from their lethargy, and brush the cobwebs from their inactive forms, and marshal their hosts to victory.—*The Forum, Whitehall*.

CALIFORNIA.

The lesson of last fall was a good one. It showed the party that even its charmed life and brilliant record would not excuse or protect it from the results of bad acts. It has weeded out the bad men of the party, and will keep them weeded out. Hereafter the party will act up to the high standard of principles upon which it was founded. The glorious old party has again buckled on the armor of light, closed its vizor for the fight, set its lance in rest, and will overthrow the cohorts of the reconstructed and unreconstructed rebel Democracy in every tilt from this on till the sun goes down on the national battle-field in 1876.—*Transcript, Oakland*.

The efforts made by both parties were great. The Democrats struggled to increase their majority of last year, and to carry the Gubernatorial and Congressional elections. They were very hopeful of the State. For many years before the rise of the Republican party New Hampshire was regarded as the most reliable Democratic State in the Union. It was, when Isaac Hill lived, an impregnable fortress of the Democracy; and the name of Democrat, although smirched and defiled by treason and rebellion, and a thousand horrible crimes done in its name, is still dear to many of the old people of New Hampshire. If the party had acted wisely, and had shown

a disposition to maintain the Union and to abide by the results of the war, the State would probably have been wholly lost to the Republican party. But the constant acts of violence and wrong perpetrated in different sections of the South, the shameful acts of the White League at New Orleans in the attempt to overturn the State government, and the cruel murders of whites and blacks for exercising political rights, created a revolution of feelings and opinions in New Hampshire as well as in other Northern States; and now the tide runs so strongly in favor of sustaining Republican measures, that the waves—as the fall elections will show—will carry aloft the Republican banner in triumph through the next Presidential campaign.—*Patriot, San Jose.*

OREGON.

How passing strange it all is! Only a decade has rolled away, and what do we see in this broad, heroic land, so lately crimson with the struggle for self-preservation? Why the country is almost in the hands of its enemies! Ex-Confederate officers, and not a few of them, recalling the old plantation swagger, stand to-day in the halls of the Capitol of a nation they fought to overthrow, hurling denunciations red hot with the fires of their old and unsubdued treason against Grant and Sheridan for attempting, under the Constitution, to preserve the peace and sectional amity which these Hotspurs of the rebellion are determined shall never reign. And their ancient and inevitable ally, the Democratic party of the North, waxes furious again because the lawless, murderous South cannot be "let alone," and is as bitter against the "hirelings" of the nation as before. And the poor negro! Brought to the country in the chains of slavery, and bought and sold, and whipped and driven like an ox, he was taken out of bondage to assist in fighting the battles of the Union, and when he had proved that his blood was as red and as free to flow as ours in the country's cause, was rewarded with citizenship, and then left to be plundered and slain on the shining highway of freedom!

What a commentary is this appalling paradoxical state of things on the uncertainty of republics! Of one thing we are now assured—treason was not made odious enough. The price of blood and treasure and sorrow that was paid for the integrity of the Constitution and the life of union and liberty constrains us to believe that a great crime had been committed by those who, sword and hand, had enforced the terrible ransom of the Republic. The American people have now some cause to remember that the history of the world has not shown that crime was ever punished and prevented by a system of rewards to the wrong-doer instead of penalties.

They will be wiser now.—*State Journal, Eugene City.*

WISCONSIN.

There is much meaning in the results of the New Hampshire election, for it is no less than the first gun of the Presidential campaign. It shows the reaction and the recoil that is absolutely certain in this nation. Bad as some of the members of the Republican party may be, objectionable as some of its measures have been, it is loyal and trusty as compared with the old Democratic party or the sham Reform party of the day. With the partial restoration of the Democratic party in Congress has come up that unmistakable rebel yell from the South, and following that come threats and demands both significant and treasonable. The short year now nearly past since the Democratic party was intrusted with a limited control of affairs, shows the danger to the nation of placing our country entirely in their hands, and at the first opportunity voters rush to the polls to amend the evil before it is too late. Let the Republican party be true to its own principles and the people will trust and honor and maintain for it years to come.—*Herald, Geneva Lake.*

MISSOURI.

They insult the intelligence of the people who suppose that the voters of the North and the West have not noted with anxious eyes that eighty-five men who were recently in arms against the Republic are now seated in its national legislative halls. What other nation of the past or the present has ever permitted its would-be destroyers to sit in its councils, and aid in moulding its destinies? What has been the course of England toward Mitchell and other conspirators? While we do not favor ostracism, and are opposed to any measure which is calculated to wound or estrange our Southern brethren, and their Northern allies, we frankly confess that our generosity is not sufficiently comprehensive to place a pardon and the insignia of *national rule* in their hands *simultaneously*. The Democracy must organize its crest-fallen ranks, long diminished by desertion and defeat, ere it can hope that the people will recognize its claims to place and confidence. If that party had two or three statesmen whose influence was sufficiently great to sever its connection with such planks as secession, compromise, slavery, repudiation, &c., it might be possible for some Union men to vote with them; but any attempt to reconstruct a platform without any reference to what constituted its past shameless life only awakens an opposition which insures new defeat. The old man will cling to the flesh-pots of the past rather than eat the manna of the favored tribes.—*Herald, St. Joseph.*

The return of such a State to the Republican column, with a vote such as the State has never cast, even in rare emergencies, is a significant event. It proves, first, that some change in the attitude of parties has called out a reserve which for some years has been dissatisfied and indifferent, and that the change has been such as to throw most of that reserve to the Republican side. It proves, next, that the stragglers and skirmishers have mainly become convinced that their efforts to get up new parties on insignificant

issues do not pay, and have only helped the least worthy of the two main parties. It proves, finally, that the possibility of Democratic victory in the nation appears to the people to present a grave emergency, and prompts them to put aside all nonsense, to get their whims and crotches under hatches, to toss overboard the deck-load of incapables and corruptionists, and to settle at once the question, since it must once more be settled, whether Democratic or Republican ideas shall rule this land.—*Democrat, St. Louis, (Rep.)*

ADVANCE IN POSTAL RATES ON THIRD-CLASS MATTER.

Prior to the recent session of Congress the postal rate on third-class matter was regulated and defined by the following provisions of law, to wit :

ESTABLISHING THE RATE.

Sec. 8. That all mailable matter of the third class, referred to in section one hundred and thirty-three of the act entitled "An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the Post Office Department," approved June 8, 1872, may weigh not exceeding four pounds for each package thereof, and postage shall be charged thereon at the rate of one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof; but nothing herein contained shall be held to change or amend section one hundred and thirty-four of said act.

DEFINING THE KIND OF MATTER.

Sec. 133. That mailable matter of the third class shall embrace all pamphlets, occasional publications, transient newspapers, magazines, handbills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, books, book-manuscripts, proof-sheets, corrected proof-sheets, maps, prints, engravings, blanks, flexible patterns, samples of merchandise not exceeding twelve ounces in weight, sample cards, photographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations of different types, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and all other matter which may be declared mailable by law, and all other articles not above the weight prescribed by law, which are not, from their form or nature, liable to destroy, deface, or otherwise injure the contents of the mail-bag or the person of any one engaged in the postal service. All liquids, poisons, glass, explosive materials, and obscene books shall be excluded from the mails.

Vigorous efforts in the interest of express companies were made by outside parties, at different periods of the session, to secure an

increase of the charges on third-class matter, and especially upon the whole of that species of such matter as fell under the designation of merchandise. But these efforts met with no encouragement during the consideration of the postal appropriation bill, until about the time of the final passage of that measure, when Senator Ramsay, chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, offered the following amendment, as from the committee, and stated that it had been unanimously agreed to by the committee :

That section 8 of the act approved June 23, 1874, "making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875," be, and is hereby, amended as follows: Insert the words "twelve ounces" in lieu of the words "four pounds."

It should be noted that this amendment proposed no increase in the rates, but a reduction in the maximum weight of packages from four pounds to twelve ounces. It was well known that even this slight concession had been prompted by the lobby in the interest of the express companies, with the expectation that the limitation of weight to twelve ounces would drive the whole or main portion of the package business from the mails and force it into the hands of the express companies.

But, during the consideration of the postal bill, the attention of members and Senators was drawn sharply to its provisions, with the purpose of protecting the interests of the people in this great department, and especially in maintaining the cheap facilities for

the accommodation of the public. Consequently, the amendment proposed by Senator Ramsay was lost by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, Conkling, Conover, Davis, Dorsey, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hamilton of Maryland, Hamilton of Texas, Hamlin, Johnston, Kelly, McCreery, Merrimon, Norwood, Pratt, Saulsbury, Stevenson, Stockton, Thurman, and Wadleigh—21.

Nays—Messrs. Acorn, Allison, Anthony, Boutwell, Cameron, Clayton, Cooper, Cragin, Dennis, Flanagan, Frelinghuysen, Hager, Harvey, Hitchcock, Howe, Ingalls, Lewis, Mitchell, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Pease, Robertson, Sargent, Scott, Sherman, Spencer, Sprague, Tipton, Washburn, West, Windom, and Wright—34.

Absent—Messrs. Bogy, Boreman, Brownlow, Carpenter, Chandler, Edmunds, Fenton, Ferry of Connecticut, Ferry of Michigan, Gilbert, Gordon, Jones, Logan, Patterson, Ramsay, Ransom, Schurz, and Stewart—18.

The postal appropriation bill was then abandoned by the lobby, and was passed without further vexation or hindrance from that source.

These disinterested gentlemen had, however, caused to be procured a letter from the Postmaster General, with the view of using it as a pretext toward the closing hours of Congress, when, even though vigilance should not be relaxed, the confusion usually existing on such occasions would favor their scheme, which was absolutely without friends in either House.

The following is the letter of the Postmaster General:

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1875.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a communication from Mr. Bangs, superintendent of railway mail service, touching the question of merchandise in the mails. I do not find that this class of mail matter seriously obstructs the transportation of the mails on railroads, nor does it threaten to do so at present; but on some of the trunk stage routes it does embarrass us somewhat, and will lead to extra expense. There is no justice in doing a merchandise transportation business and charging the same for a short as for a long distance; and yet I do not know that it can be remedied. This law has been in operation for so short a time that I am reluctant to recommend any radical changes; but I would suggest that the rate of postage on merchandise should be doubled—that is, the rate should be one cent for each ounce

or fraction thereof, instead of one cent for each two ounces.

Very respectfully, yours,
MARSHALL JEWELL.
Hon. ALEXANDER RAMSAY, U. S. Senate.

It will be seen that the subject was carefully considered by the Postmaster General; that no allusion is made by him to any portion of that class except the articles under the general head of "merchandise," and as regards these the Department declines to make any recommendation. The Postmaster General does, however, suggest the propriety of doubling the rate on this species of matter.

This letter was written to the chairman of the Post Office Committee on the 18th of February; and yet, except as to the effort made by Senator Ramsay, in accordance with the suggestion of the Postmaster General, which was promptly voted down by the Senate, as shown above, no action was taken upon it until the night of the 3d of March, nor does it appear that the contents of the letter were brought to the attention of the Senate until the latter date, and the following is what then occurred:

Mr. HAMLIN. I have one other amendment which I offer, to come in on page 20, after the word "dollars," in line 468: "That section 8 of the act approved June 20, 1874, 'making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, and for other purposes,' be, and the same is hereby, amended as follows: Insert the word 'ounce' in lieu of the words 'two ounces.'"

Mr. SARGENT. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. HAMLIN. I ask the Senator to give me my five minutes.

Mr. SARGENT. I cannot take that away; but the Senator had resumed his seat.

Mr. HAMLIN. I was trying to find a memorandum which I mislaid. I will state what the proposition is.

Mr. SARGENT. Of course I cannot make the motion if the Senator wishes the floor.

Mr. HAMLIN. This is an appropriation bill. The amendment which I offer, and which is now before the Senate, is to replenish your Treasury; and I think at this period of time, when the revenues of your Post Office Department are running so low, the amendment which I offer is one that should commend itself to the judgment of every Senator here. In 1872 we passed a law fixing the rate of postage upon what was called transient mat-

ter of the third class. The question has been submitted to the Post Office Department in relation to a change of that law, and I have here an express recommendation of the Postmaster General in favor of the amendment which I submit. I have a full knowledge of this law. I was a member of the Post Office Committee when the plan of transmitting other than mailable matter proper through the mail was adopted. It fixed the rate of postage upon each two ounces. It has been carried up to four pounds. It was an experiment. I do not seek to change that experiment, but I do seek to place upon it a rate of postage which, if the statements from the Post Office Department be correct, will give you \$2,000,000 of revenues in the coming year. It will operate as no hardship whatever upon persons whom we design to benefit by allowing merchandise to go through the mails. We support the mail department proper upon postage at six cents per ounce. This will still allow merchandise samples to go through your mails for one cent an ounce, at such low rates that any person who desires to avail himself of the transmission of the mails for such a purpose will have no reason to complain of our increasing the rate.

The Postmaster General tells us it should be done. Mr. Bangs, whom I regard as one of the very best officers in that Department—he is careful, he understands his business—has made the statement that it will give us \$2,000,000 of revenue if we adopt the amendment. I trust the Senator from California will not move to lay such an amendment on the table, but will let it go in and help replenish the Treasury; or, if he does so move, I hope the Senate will vote down the motion.

Mr. SARGENT. Very well; let us have the vote now.

Mr. WEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Maine what the amendment means in reference to the charge upon merchandise conveyed in the mails. It is now eight cents a pound, and this proposes to make it sixteen cents.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. WEST. It is always a misfortune and always objectionable to legislate with reference to statutes upon an appropriation bill. The Committee on Appropriations have examined that subject. They have no such information from the Postmaster General.

Mr. HAMLIN. I have it, and can get it for the Senator.

Mr. WEST. Then it has come in since.

Mr. HAMLIN. No, sir; before.

Mr. WEST. The Senate ought to be aware that this is one of the very things they voted down when the Post Office appropriation bill was up when it came from a different quarter entirely. It is making the carriage of merchandise in the mails sixty-four cents on four

pounds instead of thirty-two. So far as the Committee on Appropriations were concerned they had no such information.

Mr. HAMLIN. I want to say to the Senator that there is another committee in this body that sometimes has subjects before it that relate to the Post Office Department.

Mr. WEST. I wish they would take them all.

Mr. HAMLIN. The Committee on Appropriations does not absorb all the information there is in this body and in the country upon all subjects. [Laughter.] In other words, I want to say that while I concede that they know everything, I am not quite willing to admit that there is not anybody else who knows anything. [Laughter.] Now I will read what the Postmaster General says—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will remind the Senator that his time has expired.

The amendment was agreed to.

In all this not a word is said about changing the charges on anything but merchandise. Yet the amendment offered by Mr. Hamlin did actually change the rate on all third-class matter, and he claimed in the debate that the proposition was based on the letter of the Postmaster General; but a reference to that letter, given above, shows clearly that Senator Hamlin entirely misapprehended the language of the letter or the scope and meaning of the amendment offered and advocated by him. It does seem, and we believe the public will hold, that, in so important a matter, greater care should have been used. At all events, it would have been but fair to have read in the Senate the letter on which it was claimed the amendment was based.

It is not doubted but Senator Hamlin failed to apprehend the full scope of the proposition submitted by him, and that the Senate was misled through this misapprehension. But it is unfortunate for Senator Hamlin that he should have stated so distinctly in the debate that "the question has been submitted to the Post Office Department, and I have here an express recommendation of the Postmaster General in favor of the amendment I submit. I have a full knowledge of this law." * When the proposition was presented for the concurrence of the House, that body was also misled by the statement that it applied to merchandise only.

Such is the fact as shown by the debate, and this view is further sustained by the testimony of every Senator and member who

has been consulted on the subject since the adjournment.

From the foregoing it appears that a law has been placed on the statutes affecting almost every individual in the community, which was neither asked for by the people nor approved by the Congress which passed it, or by the Department which is to administer it. And yet it is so clear and positive in its provisions as to leave no latitude of construction; in fact, there is nothing for the Executive to do but to enforce or defy it. The lat-

ter he cannot do, because it is not of that dangerous character which in some instances might justify such action. It is simply expensive and inconvenient, and must be borne with until it can be amended.

The lesson it teaches should not be lost. It should teach the legislative department to exercise greater scrutiny, and especially it should lead to the adoption of such rules as will not only prohibit, but will absolutely prevent the enactment or amendment of general laws in connection with appropriation bills.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The new Dominion of Canada is making substantial progress in the increase of its shipping, foreign commerce, railways, fisheries, mining and manufacturing interests, and in the general development of the country.

The fiscal year ends on the 30th of June, and with the close of the last fiscal year the Dominion had completed the seventh year of its existence. These first years of its infancy involved a large amount of legislative labor in bringing each of the provinces into the Confederation and putting them in harmonious working order. For the first three years there were but four provinces confederated, namely, Lower and Upper Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island have been more recent accessions, while Newfoundland still remains, obstinately, "out in the cold," with a fair prospect, however, of soon uniting her fortunes with the Confederation, and thus completing the arrangement originally contemplated.

In an examination of the commercial and other industrial reports of the Dominion, made up to the close of the fiscal year ended on the 30th day of June, 1874, we find everywhere the evidences of steady and substantial development. As these indications are scarcely less gratifying to us than to those four millions of people more immediately concerned in the progress of this new continental government, we shall quote from the

official reports a few of the evidences of their prosperity. The following table gives the value of exports, imports, and duties paid in each of the seven years, and indicates a steadily increasing foreign commerce:

Fiscal year.	Total exports.	Total imports.	Duty.
1868.....	\$57,567,888	\$73,459,644	\$8,819,431 63
1869.....	61,474,781	70,415,165	8,290,999 71
1870.....	73,573,490	74,814,339	9,462,940 44
1871.....	74,173,618	96,092,971	11,843,685 75
1872.....	83,609,663	111,430,527	13,045,493 59
1873.....	89,785,902	128,011,231	13,017,730 17
1874.....	89,351,928	128,213,582	14,421,882 67

The large increase shown by this table is to some extent modified by the consideration that the first three years represent the business of four provinces only, viz: Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island coming in and swelling the trade of Canada somewhat in the years 1871, 1872, and 1874 respectively. To show the actual increase of the four original provinces of Canada, we present the following table, showing the value of exports, goods imported, entered for consumption, and duty collected in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia for the following years:

Fiscal year.	Total exports.	Total imports.	Duty.	The following tables show at a glance the course of trade of the Dominion with other countries :
1868.....	\$57,567,888	\$73,49,644	\$1,819,431 63	
1869.....	60,474,781	70,415,165	8,298,900 71	
1870.....	73,573,490	74,814,339	9,402,940 41	
1871.....	74,173,618	95,838,908	11,827,932 53	
1872.....	80,642,015	100,630,928	12,026,253 12	
1873.....	87,750,590	124,902,934	12,067,508 07	
1874.....	85,711,413	122,422,458	13,798,458 16	

The compiler of this table suggests that a glance is sufficient to show not only a steady but a rapid increase in the commerce of the four provinces included in it since the accomplishment of confederation. The slight falling off in the imports of 1869 is scarcely noticeable, and the decline of two millions in the value of the exports, and two and one-half millions in that of the imports of 1874, is attributable to the depression prevailing in the United States in all departments of trade rather than to any reverses originating in Canada. Indeed, the whole difference in the aggregate values of imports between 1873 and 1874 may be accounted for by the reduction in prices, not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, during the latter year, and is not to be accepted as indicating a reduction in quantities. This will be apparent when it is remembered that an average reduction of two per cent. in values would account for the whole decrease in 1874.

The following table shows the per centage of expense of collecting the customs revenues in each province :

Years.	Ontario.	Quebec.	Nova Scotia.	N. Brunswick.	Manitoba.	Dominion.
1868.....	07.14	04.35	08.66	08.48	.....	05.99
1869.....	07.58	05.79	03.55	09.06	.....	07.03
1870.....	06.83	03.59	08.26	06.28	.....	05.41
1871.....	04.90	02.87	07.37	05.38	.....	04.21
1872.....	04.20	02.77	06.89	05.61	17.03	04.04
1873.....	04.25	03.12	07.53	05.88	17.36	04.35
1874.....	04.95	02.94	07.77	06.27	15.87	04.55

The following tables show at a glance the course of trade of the Dominion with other countries :

Value of Exports, by Countries.

Countries	1873.	1874.
Great Britain.....	\$31,486,571	\$35,808,482
United States.....	40,554,655	35,161,117
France.....	31,907	267,212
Germany.....	76,553	65,511
Spain.....	25,080	960
Portugal.....	191,156	192,663
Italy.....	177,232	150,211
Holland.....	13,142	14,905
Belgium.....	17,754	168,594
Brit. N. A. Provinces.....	2,283,638	1,411,278
British West Indies.....	1,039,733	1,055,936
Spanish West Indies.....	1,614,312	1,246,371
French West Indies.....	2,09,060	372,009
Other West Ind. Islands.....	91,630	66,678
South America.....	1,250,266	1,212,615
China and Japan.....	46,389	33,024
Australia.....	40,965	98,478
South Africa.....	5,978	3,316
Other countries.....	229,991	470,375
Goods not the produce of Canada.....	9,405,910	10,614,096
Total.....	89,789,922	89,351,928

Value of Exports and Imports combined.

Countries.	1873.	1874.
Great Britain.....	\$107,266,624	\$108,083,642
United States.....	89,808,294	90,524,066
France.....	2,055,195	2,563,712
Germany.....	1,176,478	1,022,428
Spain.....	502,966	459,027
Portugal.....	276,188	294,007
Italy.....	219,657	236,236
Holland.....	229,770	271,043
Belgium.....	364,456	534,153
Brit. N. A. Provinces.....	4,69,552	2,657,547
British West Indies.....	2,933,548	2,916,596
Spanish West Indies.....	2,767,432	2,595,256
French West Indies.....	343,221	411,111
Other West Ind. Islands.....	119,224	163,467
South America.....	1,701,632	1,686,506
China and Japan.....	1,709,856	1,268,728
Switzerland.....	120,514	139,674
Australia.....	430,174	98,733
South Africa.....	102,977	.....
Other countries.....	560,847	829,010
Goods (not produce) exported.....	.....	.....
Total.....	217,304,516	216,756,097

Commenting on these tables the Commissioner says :

"The aggregate trade with Great Britain and the United States has steadily increased and is nearly the same ratio in each case, or about \$14,000,000, total value, between 1872 and 1874. In the case of Great Britain \$10,000,000 is the increase in exports, and the remaining \$4,000,000 is chiefly due to an increased importation of free goods, which

leaves the amount of duty collected very nearly alike in both years. The advance in the trade with the United States, on the other hand, is solely due to increased importations, while the value of our exports to that country is slightly less in 1874 than in 1872. It is a matter of regret that our direct trade with the West Indies, British and foreign, has slightly declined, but with South America it shows a gratifying increase."

The exports of Canada are mainly classed under six heads, viz: the produce of the mine, fisheries, forest, animals and their produce, agriculture, and manufactures. As might be expected, the produce of the forest forms the largest item, and next to that are agricultural products. The following table shows the exports of Canada in the fiscal years 1873 and 1874, properly classified:

EXPORTS.

	1873	1874.
Produce of the mines.....	\$5,471,162	\$3,977,216
Do.....fisheries.....	4,779,277	5,292,338
Do.....forest.....	38,586,816	26,817,715
Animals and their produce.....	14,233,017	14,679,169
Agricultural products.....	14,995,310	19,599,112
Manufactures.....	2,931,802	2,514,633
Other articles.....	465,292	419,801
Ships built at Quebec.....	782,900	794,675
Coin and bullion.....	3,845,937	1,393,831
Goods not produce of Canada.....	9,405,910	10,614,696
Estimated amount short returned in inland ports	3,292,419	2,815,139
Total.....	89,749,922	89,531,928

"It will be observed," says the Commissioner, "that last year there was a large decrease in the exports of produce of the mine from the figures of 1873, and a decrease in the products of the forest exported, both due to the panic in the United States. The unsettled state of Cuba also made our export of manufactures somewhat less. But on the other hand, we exported more fish, more animals and their produce, and far more agricultural products in 1874 than in the previous year."

The importance of the trade of the Dominion with the United States is shown in the fact that it nearly equals her aggregate commerce with Great Britain, while in point of real value and advantage to the Dominion her trade with the United States is superior. It will be seen that in 1873 the Dominion exported to the United States goods to the value

of over forty and a half million dollars, while the value of her exports to Great Britain was less than thirty-one and a half million dollars. But while England receives only \$31,486,571 worth of goods from Canada, she at the same time sells to the Dominion goods to the value of \$75,780,053, as is shown by subtracting exports from the aggregate of exports and imports. This leaves a balance against Canada of *over forty-four and a quarter million dollars to be paid in gold or by bills of exchange, which amounts to the same result.* Usually the trade between Canada and the United States is about equally balanced, though, owing to a depression and surfeit of goods in the United States during the last year, the exports to Canada were somewhat in excess of the imports. Another advantage of the United States over the English markets to Canada is their proximity, and the greater rapidity with which sales and returns can be made at a less cost for transportation. By the union of the Dominion and the United States under one government, with custom-houses, tariffs, and all duties removed, the commerce between those two sections of the continent would soon run up to four-fold of its present proportions, as *it would give Canada free and unrestricted access to the markets of forty-two millions of people, and inaugurate a system of unlimited free trade over the North American continent.*

INCREASE OF CANADIAN SHIPPING.

In nothing is the development of the Dominion more manifest than in the rapid increase of its tonnage of shipping. The present aggregate is between one and two million tons, and the increase since the organization of the Confederation has been much more rapid than at any former period. We have not room in the present paper for details; but one small town, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, gives the following result: In 1850 the shipping owned and sailing out of that port was 113 vessels, of 17,890 tons. In 1875, or within 25 years, the gross tonnage is 120,966, represented by 255 vessels, so that the average size of the craft is not less than 50 tons, and the gross value of the whole cannot be less than five millions of dollars. 25 of the ships of this great fleet are upward of 1,000 tons each, the largest being 1,509. 29 vessels of

20,000 tons are in course of construction, so that the rates of increase for the future promises to be even greater than the past.

The following is an abstract of the shipping of Yarmouth at the present date:

2 steamers	582 tons.
49 ships	50,718 "
86 barks	59,879 "
2 brigs	543 "
25 brigantines	4,488 "
92 schooners	4,755 "

256 vessels, measuring..... 120,966 "

Increase during the past year, 10,500 tons.

Civilian built and owned vessels are engaged in the carrying business on every ocean, and this industry has become a vast source of wealth to the Dominion, and especially to their enterprising owners. With a union of the Dominion and the United States the participation of this large amount of shipping in our extensive coastwise, river and lake carrying trade would add immensely to the profits of its owners, as well as to the value of colonial vessels.

VALUE OF THE DOMINION FISHERIES.

The following statement is taken from the *Nation*, published at Toronto. We think the figures are in excess of the real facts. But as we have not the official data by us, it would be presumption to dispute them. The *Nation* says:

"The value of the Canadian fisheries for 1874 is set down at twenty millions of dollars. This is exclusive of the seal hunt or whale fisheries. It is also exclusive of the United States and French catch. It simply represents the value of the fish caught in Canadian waters by Canadian fishermen, and embraces returns from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and the Magdalen Islands. The French catch on the shores of Newfoundland is supposed to average \$4,000,000 per annum. The United States catch in Canadian waters is estimated at \$10,000,000 per annum. The number of persons engaged in the Canadian fisheries is set down at 250,000."

The *Nation* adds:

"Particular interest attaches to these figures since the failure of the Reciprocity Treaty necessitates a settlement of the fishery question by a joint commission under the Washington Treaty, which will have to decide the compensation to be paid to Canada by the States. The necessary steps to secure the settlement by arbitration of the fishery

compensation have, it is announced, been taken by the Dominion Government."

Altogether our enterprising neighbors have done well. If they ever decide to unite their fortunes with us they will then do better by widening the field for enterprise, development, wealth, and power.

THE PREMIER OF CANADA A SELF-MADE MAN.

We cannot close this general sketch of the prosperity of our neighbors without condensing from the Rochester (N. Y.) *Express*, a brief sketch of the present premier of the Dominion—the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.

In 1873 Mr. Mackenzie was called by the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, to form a cabinet on the downfall of Sir John A. Macdonald's Ministry, the latter having been convicted of selling the charter of the Canada Pacific Railway to Sir Hugh Allan for about \$390,000, which money was expended in 1872 in carrying the elections to sustain Sir John's government. He was unanimously chosen by the reform party to the leadership in the Government, as he had been the chief of that party in Parliament for some time. He dissolved Parliament in December, 1873, and a general election took place in January, 1874. The election resulted in the Reformers returning 154 members and the Opposition had barely fifty seats. With such an enormous majority a party leader might readily become intoxicated with the power he had in his hand, but Mr. Mackenzie's administration has been marked with economy and success, and he has steadily pursued the policy he has always advocated during a long Parliamentary career, favoring internal improvements and the extension of commercial relations, and he has the satisfaction of knowing that he is now more popular in the country than when he assumed the reins of Government, having demonstrated the possession of rare executive abilities and statesmanlike views. He is really a Reformer and Liberal in his ideas. As a Parliamentarian, during fifteen years of public service, he disclosed rare powers as a ready and formidable debater. He has been an advocate of temperance and his personal character is above reproach.

He probably offers the only instance in the

history of England, or her colonies, where a workingman has risen to the high office of Premier. He was born in Scotland, and is something over fifty years of age. He learned the trade of stone-cutter and came to Canada while a young man. He has resided in Sarnia, Ontario, for many years and has represented the county of Lambton in Parliament, always elected by an overwhelming majority, until it was found futile for a Tory candidate to oppose him, since when his election has been had by acclamation. He has steadily worked at his trade, even when a member of Parliament, when not engaged in his public duties. He had but few opportunities for early education, but with true Scotch persistence and application to study, he made himself fully equal in solid information about affairs with any other man in the Dominion.

When he rises in his place to speak he is dignified and impressive in manner. His style is easy but direct, his speech slightly tinged with a Scotch accent. He is erect, and spare, his hair and beard fringed with grey. He is always sure of an attentive audience whenever he speaks. He is probably the most practical statesman the Dominion possesses, his ideas being plain and utilitarian. We have given this sketch to show what brains, backed by energy, temperance, and thrift, will accomplish when directed aright. Here was a mechanic, poor, unlettered, and friendless, who by self-culture, integrity, perseverance, and noble aims, draws about him the admiration and confidence of a numerous constituency, which finally places him in the highest position in the gift of a people numbering four millions.

UNITED STATES SENATE—EXTRA SESSION.

By proclamation of the President the Senate of the United States convened in extra session on Friday, March 5th, 1875. The scene was solemn and imposing. The galleries were thronged to their utmost capacity, and the floor was packed almost as densely by the most prominent men of the nation. An unusual change of the constituents of the body was to be made—nearly one-third of the whole number. The outgoing Senators and the incoming Senators contributed largely to intensify the interest of the scene. Some of the most prominent Republican members, men who long stood in the van of this great party, its acknowledged leaders and champions, were sadly missed on this day of the opening of the Senate in extra session.

The proceedings were opened by the prayer of the Chaplain. The Vice President took his seat and ordered the call of the President to be read. This done, the Senators elect were summoned forward to take the oath of office, administered by the Vice President. They came forward as their names were called in quaternions, generally accompanied by their colleagues or friends. Many of them were new men who have never been in Congress before. Some have been famous in

other walks of life—Burnside in the army, Christianity on the bench. Mr. Hamlin, Andy Johnson, and Mr. Dawes were among this number of new Senators. Mr. Hamlin, the first Vice President under Lincoln; Andy Johnson, the second Vice President under Lincoln, and his successor in the White House; Mr. Dawes, so long the distinguished leader of the House of Representatives, and now the successor of Charles Sumner and Daniel Webster in the Senate. It was a significant feature of the ceremony that some half dozen of the Senators elect could not take the oath that they had never been hostile to the Government of the United States, and a sad commentary on their past personal history. If they have learned that treason and rebellion have been forgiven on the part of a magnanimous government and people, they should also learn that it is no less a personal reproach for which they should strive in future to atone.

MR. MORTON'S RESOLUTIONS.

On the conclusion of the ceremony of administering the oath to the new members of the Senate, it was found that every seat was filled but that of one Senator from the State of Louisiana, and that all but two or three

Senators were in their places. Mr. Pinchback claimed the seat from Louisiana, and Senator Morton offered a resolution designed to grant him the seat, and approving the Kellogg State government. The consideration of this question was fixed for Monday following. Several days were consumed in its discussion, the debate taking a wide range, when at last it was found that the measure could not be carried, and the whole subject was postponed to the second Monday in December next, whereupon Mr. Frelinghuysen offered a resolution approving the action of the Administration in upholding the Kellogg government, which was laid over for consideration.

THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

One of the important subjects of the Senate in this extra session was the confirmation of the treaty which has been recently formed with the government of the Sandwich Islands, and to promote which it was reported the King of those islands recently visited this country. This treaty was ratified by the Senate on Thursday, March 18th, 1875, but the text is yet under seal of secrecy. The general features of the treaty have been made public, however, showing that the design is to create exports and imports between the two countries, duty free, and to favor the mutual commerce of the contracting powers. The convention is to remain in force for seven years, and then to be renewed or terminated at the option of either party by giving a year's notice. The amount of imports for last year from the Hawaiian Kingdom, of the class on which duties are paid, was \$1,088,286. The amount of exports of same class from the United States was \$483,711 76. But under the present treaty this country will most likely obtain nine-tenths of all the trade with those islands, so that the amount of exchange will be nearly equal between the two countries. The value of this arrangement to our Western borders must be seen at a glance. It will serve to stimulate traffic along the Pacific coast and add a new link of affection and interest to the bond of our national amity.

NOMINATIONS.

During the called session a number of im-

portant nominations of the President have been confirmed, among which are those of Mr. Orth, of Indiana, as Minister to Austria, and of Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, as Minister to Turkey.

MR. ANTHONY'S RESOLUTION.

For several days a lively discussion, conducted mainly by the Opposition side of the chamber, was in progress over the amendment offered by Senator Anthony, of Rhode Island, to the resolution of Senator Frelinghuysen indorsing the course of the President in Louisiana affairs. This amendment had been agreed upon in the Republican caucus, and the minority debated against a foregone conclusion. Senator Bayard, of Delaware, spoke six hours upon the question. Many of the new Senators made their first Senatorial speeches in this debate. But the feature which attracted the most public attention was the first speech of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, since his recent accession to the Senate, delivered on Monday, the 22d of March, 1875. The announcement that he would speak on the resolution drew an immense crowd of people to the galleries, and filled the floor of the Senate chamber with eager expectants. It was a scene which disclosed the fickleness of fortune, and almost staggered belief in the stability of the principles for which the great Republican party have so long struggled, to witness the presence of one standing up in the Senate of the United States clothed with Senatorial powers, and assailing as he did with violence the acts of the Administration in the very spot where but a few years since he was himself on trial for impeachment, and from which he barely escaped by the lack of one vote. Many of the actors in that great contest are in their graves. The Chief Justice who presided, Sumner, Stevens, Grimes, Fessenden, and several others, while many of the Senators who voted for his impeachment have been displaced by other men who are now associated in this high forum and who have to bear the standards of the Republican party amid the new combinations and difficulties created by the political changes of the country. The speech of Mr. Johnson was listened to with a marked

attention, and once or twice received the applause of the galleries. But after an argument of two hours he gave way, having excited only a ripple on the surface, which has even now almost disappeared. The truth is, no man in this country, however talented or conspicuous, can retain his hold upon the public confidence or exert his powers with any vital effect who has abandoned convictions one after another through a long period of years until he finds himself standing alone, representing no great party policy and true to no principles that can marshal a great party and make them a power in the land. This is the situation in which Mr. Johnson finds himself to-day. Having abandoned every side, he now finds himself abandoned, standing apart, distrusted, and regarded with suspicion unmixed with fear. How different must be his career in the Senate from this time forward. It is a sad spectacle—a beacon of warning to other men how great opportunities are lost and a noble name obscured by the waywardness of men who are blinded for destruction.

SENATOR FERRY, OF MICHIGAN.

While Mr. Johnson was debating the case of the Administration there sat a man in the chair of the Vice President, then absent from the city, whose personal character and career as one of America's rising statesmen may well claim the attention of the people and furnish an example for emulation to the young men of the country. This is Senator Thomas W. Ferry, of Michigan, one of the youngest members of the body, and during the present extra session twice selected as President *pro tempore* of the Senate. Senator Ferry was born in the State he so worthily represents. He is the son of a Presbyterian minister, one of the old pioneer missionaries who first lighted the candle of a Christian civilization on the forest shores of Michigan. He comes from a noble stock. Entering early in life upon business pursuits, he was unusually successful, and very soon discovered qualities which brought him to the notice of the great Republican party, which found its first and one of its strongest holds in his native State. For many years he has been prominent in the political conventions

of the party, and has been repeatedly elected to the House of Representatives, where he served with distinguished ability and honor. In 1871 he was chosen to succeed the lamented Senator Jacob M. Howard, and immediately took rank beside his distinguished colleague, Mr. Chandler, the senior Senator from Michigan. His record in the Senate of the United States has been that of a pure patriot, an able and candid statesman, a courteous gentleman. His character has shown forth untarnished. His private and public life has been unquestioned. He has won the personal confidence and respect alike of political friends and opponents, and has now reached the highest dignity which the distinguished body of which he is a member can confer. He is a most impartial and efficient presiding officer. His personal appearance is that of a man true to his convictions, and with power to attach in warmest friendship a host of loving and admiring friends. When it is considered that he is chosen to preside in a body comprising such men as Frelinghuysen, Conkling, Logan, Edmunds, Morton, and the veteran able and experienced Anthony, whose advancement to the position for which he is so worthy for a time rendered it doubtful on whose shoulders the mantle of this dignity would fall, his friends may well congratulate him and themselves on the bestowment of this place.

PASSAGE OF MR. ANTHONY'S RESOLUTION.

On Tuesday, March 23, 1875, the resolution of Senator Anthony, approving the course of the President in the State of Louisiana, was passed by a vote of 33 to 24, a number of Senators being absent or not voting. The discussion on the whole has served to harmonize the views of Republican Senators and to reach a result which gives promise of future success. The grand necessity of the Republican party is adhesion to its early principles and professions. That these principles and this policy are the embodiment of the great doctrines of a free country and a prosperous people there can be no doubt. Let every honest Republican stand by them and work faithfully, in time to come as in time past, and we shall yet wit-

ness the more perfect triumph of the right in the victories we are to win.

On Wednesday, March 24, 1875, the Senate, having been in extra session for nineteen days, adjourned *sine die*. When the next Congress assembles we shall open a new chapter in the legislation of the country. The political revolution of last autumn will then display its fruits. We shall see what a Democratic House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress will do to redress the evils of which they complain, or to promote the essential welfare of a nation brought to the verge of destruction by their schemes and machinations in the interests of human bondage a score of years ago.

A VOICE FROM TEXAS.—The following extracts from a private letter do not give a very hopeful picture of party prospects in the State of Texas. We should like to see Federal positions in that State held by live men, loyal in their attachments to the country and to the party that stood between it and destruction, and we sincerely hope, now that Democracy has thrown off its disguise, that Federal appointments in the South will be made from among men whose honesty and Republicanism are above question. We want men in the South to organize our forces, and to lead the Republicans to victory in 1876. We have the material in many of the Southern States to save those States from Democracy, but we are sadly deficient in leadership. We look for reform in this direction and trust it will begin with Federal office holders, for if they are disloyal to the party that appointed them how can we expect others, who have no direct interest in the party, to stand by it when personal comfort and safety are found on the other side?

The writer says:

"I have seen so much of the cursed spirit of rebellion, and the foolish and almost criminal neglect on the part of Federal office holders in this State, that you must pardon me if I choose to give you some honest information and, as I believe, some practical suggestions.

"The Federal office holders in this State make use of every emolument of office for their own personal benefit and let the party drift along as it may. There is not a club organization in any city, town, or county, in

the Northern portion of the State, and I never heard of one in the whole State.

"There are a great many people coming in from the North every day, and if the party were only organized the State would go Republican by a large majority, for it is safe to estimate by the next general election an increase of fifty thousand Republican votes, from the white and black increase of population. Douglas Democrats, like myself, from the North, cannot be anything else than Republicans here, for we have to defend our country and institutions at all times and on all occasions.

"The colored element is large and increasing immensely, but no attention is paid to this class of voters by the Federal officials. They should be organized into political clubs in every community, thereby making them feel their strength, and they would not be so afraid of losing employment as they now are, for they would work under a protective union of their own, and would bring out every vote.

"Again, the old settlers are discriminating against the colored men. The farmers are refusing to rent them lands for fear of their prosperity. I know this of my own knowledge. The colored element is the only industrial element left among the native population, consequently the colored man goes better fed and better clothed than the old master, and it grieves the old settlers to see the darkey well dressed and riding his own horse to church on Sunday. They tell me the 'Yankees and niggers' will own everything in Texas soon, and some of them begin to see the future in its true light. If industry and loyalty bring their true reward, I believe the prophecy of the old settlers is not very far out of the way."

THE Democrats sent ex-Rebel General Gordon, of Georgia, and Lamar, of Mississippi, up to New Hampshire to instruct the patriots of that State how to vote at the election last week. They came pretty near giving the Republicans a complete victory. As it was, the Republicans made a gain of over 2,000 votes and elected a majority of the Legislature. The election of Governor again devolves upon the Legislature, as it did last year, no candidate having a majority over all. Last year a Democrat secured the Governorship in this way, but this year the office will fall to the Republican candidate. The loyal people of the North have not done with the Republican party. They were willing for a year or two to see it chastised a little, but only because they loved it and wanted to exalt it still higher.—*Standard, Lagrange, Ind.*

THE NEW YORK CANAL RING.

Governor Tilden, of New York, has recently thrown a bombshell in the Canal Ring of that State. It was thought, as the Governor was a good Democrat, he would wink at the rascalities of his political friends; but the members of the Ring evidently mistook their man. For years the Erie canal has been practically under the control of the Democratic party, and now we have brought to light the secret of the power used to keep the control, in spite of a popular sentiment against it. The Governor deserves the thanks of every honest citizen for the bold stand he has taken, and we trust that the well-disposed of both parties will earnestly support him in carrying out his measures of reform. The message on the canal management is dated March 19, 1875, and when it was presented to the Legislature a strong effort was made to suppress it as soon as the tenor of its contents was known. But the effort failed, and now there is great consternation among the members of the Ring, as they find public attention thus drawn toward their plundering schemes.

Just how the Canal Ring worked to swindle the people may be easily understood by the following extract from the Governor's message:

CANAL LETTINGS.

The constitution of the State provides that "all contracts for work or materials on any canal shall be made with the person who shall offer to do or provide the same at the lowest price, with adequate security for their performance." This requirement was intended to protect the State from extravagant contracts; but by artful bids, and in some cases by fraudulent combinations, it is made an instrument to defeat the very end had in view by its authors. I have examined more than one hundred contracts, and I find that most are so contrived that not only does the State in the end pay from two to four times the amount of the contract, but that the work is not given to the lowest bidder in fact, although it may be in form. The result is brought about by the following contrivance:

When a contract is to be let the engineer makes out an estimate of the quantity and kinds of work to be done. Those who make bids state at what prices they will do each

kind of work or furnish each kind of material. These prices are footed up, and the bid which amounts to the smallest sum is accepted. The sums thus agreed upon average but little more than one-half the amounts estimated by the engineer, and apparently the State makes advantageous contracts. On examination it will be found that the prices for the several items bear no relation to their real value. In some instances excavation of earth is put at one cent per cubic yard, and in others eighty-five cents are asked. Excavation of rock blasted at one cent in some cases and \$2 in others. Slope wall is bid for in some cases at 20 cents, and in others at \$2. Hemlock timber, which is worth at least \$12 per thousand, is in some contracts put at less than \$3 per thousand, and in others at \$30 per thousand. Oak timber in one instance is put at \$1 per thousand, and in others at \$70. Some items are absurdly low, others unreasonably high.

In some instances a contractor will put in proposals on the same day for different jobs, but prices for the same kind of work or materials will vary in his several proposals several hundred per cent. It is clear upon the face of such proposals that some fraud is designed, but the commissioners have been in the habit of accepting them. I am happy to say that Commissioner Thayer at a recent letting rejected this class of proposals, which are known as "unbalanced bids." Heretofore they have been accepted, and not only has the State paid unreasonable prices, but more than one-half of the work on large contracts has been done and paid for without being advertised or offered to the lowest bidders. The contractor gains these results by the following strategy:

When the engineer's estimate of quantities and kinds of material are published by the commissioners, the contractor will find out, by collusion or in some other way, what quantities of each kind of work or material will in fact be required, or he will see what influence he can exert to change the contract after it is made. If it is changed no new letting is had, but he claims the job as his right. He then puts in his bid, offering to do such work or to furnish such material as he finds will not be required at all, or in small quantities, at absurdly low prices, at a quarter, or in some instances at a twentieth, part of its cost. The items which will be required in full, and probably in extra quantities, he will put at unreasonably high rates, and it turns out that what the contractor offers at low prices is called for in small quantities, if at all, while those which are

put at high prices are not only required in full, but in most cases in extraordinary quantities. An example will more clearly illustrate how the State is defrauded by these devices. The engineer having estimated certain work and material as follows:

100 cubic yards of vertical wall at \$3..	.....	\$300 00
3,855 cubic yards of slope wall at \$1.50 .....	.....	5,782 50
2,400 feet B. M. white oak, at \$50. ....	.....	120 00
60,000 feet B. M. hemlock, at \$15	.....	900 00
Total .....	.....	7,102 50
A's bid for the job at these rates amounted to .....	.....	7,102 50
B's bid for the same was, for 100 cubic yards vertical wall, at \$6 .....	.....	600 00
3,855 cubic yards slope wall, at 30 cents .....	.....	1,156 50
2,400 feet B. M. white oak, at \$70	.....	168 00
60,000 feet B. M. hemlock, at \$3,	.....	180 00
And aggregated .....	.....	\$2,104 50
8,955 cubic yards of vertical wall, at \$6 .....	.....	\$23,730
62,400 feet B. M. white oak, at \$70,	.....	4,368
The sum of .....	.....	28,098

It will be seen that in such transactions—and they are numerous—in violation of the constitution, the contractor gets the work without there having been in fact any public letting, or any chance for competition by others.

RESULTS OF THE SYSTEM.

For the purpose of showing actual results of this system I state the following ten cases, which give the amount the State has paid on certain contracts in comparison with the sum for which the contractor agreed to do the work at the lettings made by the commissioners:

Contract.	Amount of contract upon excess quantities at contract prices.	Amount actually paid by State up to Feby 1, 1875.
No. 1.....	\$74,183 49	\$478,114 72
No. 2.....	29,431 00	56,845 68
No. 3.....	37,871 00	110,320 13
No. 4.....	10,617 00	49,935 30
No. 5.....	14,397 00	78,967 20
No. 6.....	85,562 50	220,614 58
No. 7.....	31,236 00	130,317 45
No. 8.....	86,584 00	222,610 68
No. 9.....	9,504 00	41,127 55
No. 10.....	45,3 0 00	191,915 55
Total	424,735 90	1,560,769 84

These show that the State has already paid nearly four times the amount which was involved by the terms of the contracts, and though this excess amounts to over \$1,000,000, some of the expenditures are still going on with no prospect of completion. It also appears that of the expenditures of \$1,560,769 84 only \$424,735 91, less than one third, was submitted to a public letting. By maneuvers of this character the costs of public works are run up to extravagant sums. Appropriations are absorbed, deficiencies are created to be paid by new appropriations, and the people are loaded down by taxes.

REMEDIAL MEASURES.

Desiring to co-operate with you in a reform of existing abuses, and of the systems which have conducted to them, I submit to your consideration such suggestions for new legislation as seem to me adapted to meet the wishes and protect the interests of our common constituents.

Methods ought to be devised to make the estimates of the kinds and quantities of work, exhibited on the quantity sheet for lettings of contracts, to conform to the actual work to be done. On a change of the plan or specifications of a contract the work under the old contract should be closed, and a new letting should take place.

The law authorizes the Canal Board to make regulations as to the biddings, and one of those regulations provided for discarding bids which show bad faith upon their face. As the officers who let the contracts have not enforced this regulation, except in a recent case, a law should be passed defining their

rights and duties in this respect. I recommend that hereafter the bids be opened and the award of contracts be made by the Canal Board. It is a larger body, and contains the officer who is charged with the fiscal administration of the State, and also the State engineer. It was formerly vested with these duties, and the change was only made to serve a temporary party object.

Governor Tilden also suggests that the officers who spend the money should be under the control of those whose duty it is to provide the ways and means; that an inspector of public works should be created, whose appointment should be independent of the canal influence, and whose duty it should be to inspect all work, contracts, expenditures, and report on the same to the Gover-

nor and the Legislature. He also recommends an investigation into the present contracts and the work performed under them, and suggests the prompt removal of all officers found implicated in the existing frauds. On the whole we are gratified at this exhibition of courage on the part of Governor Tilden. He will be fiercely attacked by many of his old political friends, but he can afford it, for he will have the sympathy of good men of both parties to sustain him. If he loses by this war on corrupt rings the admiration of Tammany, he will win, what is a hundredfold more valuable, the respect of all citizens who believe in public economy and official honesty.

ART EDUCATION FOR YOUNG MECHANICS.

In the January number of *THE REPUBLIC* the importance of greater attention to art education, in training boys and girls for useful and profitable positions in the various branches of industry, was urged. The success already achieved in Massachusetts and other New England States in this direction was shown briefly, and the subject of art education was recommended to the serious consideration of State Legislatures throughout the Union as one of the most important demands of the day. Since the publication of that paper the third annual report of the Board of Visitors of the Massachusetts State Normal Art School has been issued from the office of the State printer, and shows a steady increase not only in the whole number of art students, but in the average attendance. There are now 188 students, against 133 last year; and the average attendance for the year thus far is 145, against 70 last year. Of the present members of the school, twenty-five are on advanced work. Boston, in part by reason of greater convenience and in part perhaps by reason of a higher appreciation of the advantages of art education, furnishes more than her share of pupils. The exhibition of drawings at Horticultural Hall in June last is spoken of as eminently satisfactory, and contributed not a little to a more general appreciation of the value of art edu-

cation to industrial interests. The board say that inventive genius alone, with only coarse embodiment in machines and fabrics, cannot advance American interests against the highly-skilled competition of continental nations; and that a general elevation of taste, which the liberal training of a whole generation in technics and art can alone secure, is requisite, above and beyond all natural resources and supposed aptitudes of the people, to give America that growing weight in the marts of the world to which a nation of forty millions should aspire. The Normal Art School has admitted forty-seven students to "Diploma A;" and of these twenty-two were successful in passing the entire examination. In spite of its poor accommodations, altogether inadequate to its needs, the school has done an excellent work; and the board recommend that the Legislature set apart a suitable site on the Back Bay lands for an art school; and that the State pay one-half the cost of such an edifice, on condition that private munificence should supply the other half.

Professor Walter Smith, the State Director of Art Education, presents his report in this connection, congratulating the friends of art education that every city or town, except Pittsfield, has complied with the law of 1870, relating to industrial drawing; and, on the

increase of popular interest in the subject, he suggests an amendment to the statute, providing that all towns of five thousand inhabitants be obliged to furnish instruction in drawing. He believes that a greater number of mechanics would receive instruction in the fifty towns so included than are now receiving it in the twenty-three now influenced by the statute. Experience has demonstrated that there is as much need of industrial art education in the smaller as in the larger centers of population; and in Europe it is not unusual to find the most successful classes in quite small towns. Another argument for making the statute apply to smaller towns is, that the young and enterprising mechanics of a village generally migrate to the cities and towns, where, if ignorant of the scientific or artistic elements of their business, they have to compete on unequal terms with those in the larger towns who had opportunities for instruction. Their labor is of less value to employers, because less productive and of a ruder quality; and they must content themselves, therefore, with lower wages, a penalty to be paid as the price of being educated in a town with less than ten thousand inhabitants, in which no means of industrial education is provided, and the value of skilled labor is ignored. In view of this, it seems advisable to give all who desire it the advantages of instruction now possessed by some, and it would not be difficult to accomplish this without incurring great expense either to localities or pupils.

The work of the year is summed up comprehensively, showing that much has been done to kill the old delusion that ability to draw is a special endowment of nature, like any physical peculiarity. Besides the work of arranging a scheme of drawing for the public schools, the examiner has endeavored to arrange a course of study which shall do for high, technical, and evening drawing classes that which he has been enabled to do for the primary and grammar schools. A word of commendation is given to those who have made such improvement in the study of drawing at the State normal schools; and it is thought that continued progress will ensure the permanence of industrial art education in the public schools. The necessity

of better quarters for all the art classes is urged, and some special attention given to the needs of the Normal Art School. The increase in numbers has necessitated the giving to each class an average of about one-third the instruction they applied for and ought to have; yet it has been almost impossible to refuse admission to the hard-working students who claimed admission as a right, offered to pay anything that might be charged, or bear all the inconvenience of crowding and confusion for one or two days a week. Nearly one hundred pupils from other States, offering to pay the fee of fifty dollars per annum if they could come, have been refused on the ground that there is no room even for residents of the State. Mr. Smith thinks that a normal art school, properly built and adapted, could be opened in Boston with five hundred students. He concludes with an urgent appeal for better quarters for the art school, recommending the erection of an edifice near the Art Museum, on the Bay, and quotes the authority of Mr. Richard Redgrave, inspector-general for art in Great Britain, as to the value of the work which has already been done. Rapid progress is making; and Mr. Smith thinks that future experience will demonstrate that, though the work of these first years was but the beginning of a great movement, it was a beginning in the right direction.

The report is supplemented by a detailed statement of the judges of the State Art Exhibition in Boston last May. The city schools have kept up the standard maintained at the exhibition of the previous year; and there has been a great gain in other cities and towns. The large display from the South Boston school, the specimens of work from the Institute of Technology are commended, and also the display of the Normal Art School students, showing an agreeable absence of mere imitativeness, and a desire to form, if possible, a new, original, and American school of art.

OUR British cousins have to pay a duty upon their male servants, and the revenue from this source last year amounted to over a million dollars.

A PLAN FOR A GOVERNMENT PAPER CURRENCY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In a late number of the London *Economist*, that of February 27, 1875, is a carefully considered communication by a person vouched for by the editor as of "acknowledged eminence, and who has given long and impartial attention to the subject." We give our readers the concluding paragraphs, which recite the chief provisions of an act of Parliament which it is proposed should be passed for the purpose of carrying into effect these suggestions. The author believes that the conditions presented sufficiently show the importance of giving the currency a greater elasticity than it now possesses, and of providing some means by which, when necessary, "it may be quickly expanded, not by the exercise of a discretionary and illegal power by the Government, but according to rules laid down beforehand by law," and calculated to prevent expansion from being carried too far. He suggests that "this might be accomplished by simply providing that the Government office intrusted with the management of the national currency should issue notes, not only in exchange for bullion, but, as an alternative, in exchange for the value of the notes, half in bullion and half in Government securities, at their current market prices."

The editor of the *Economist* proposes to say in a later number what seems necessary by way of remark and criticism upon the plan presented.

The provisions of the act are as follows :

1. No paper money shall be allowed to circulate in the United Kingdom except a national paper currency, which shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts.

2. Gold shall remain, as at present, the standard of value.

3. The national paper currency shall be managed by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, who shall strictly adhere to the rules hereinafter laid down, and to such subsidiary regulations as Her Majesty may make from time to time by Order in Council.

4. The Commissioners shall deliver notes of the national currency in sums of not less than £1,000 to all persons who may apply for them in exchange for gold or silver bul-

lion, or for the value of the notes in equal proportions of bullion and of British Government stocks at the current prices of the day: *Provided*, That the Commissioners shall have power to decline, if they think fit, receiving stock at a price higher than the average of the previous three months, though such average may be lower than the market price of the day.

5. The Commissioners shall give bullion in exchange for notes of the national currency in sums of not less than £1,000 when called upon. Applications for bullion must be made in writing, one day beforehand.

6. Gold bullion shall be given and received by the Commissioners at the mint price, silver bullion at the current market price. The market prices of silver bullion and of British Government stocks shall be published weekly in the *Gazette* for the guidance of the Commissioners.

7. The Commissioners shall issue national notes to the amount of £—— to the Bank of England and to the other banks now authorized by law to issue paper. The amount to be issued to each bank shall be equal to that which it is empowered to issue beyond the value of the gold in its hands. The terms upon which the above issues shall be made to the banks to be settled by agreement between them and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. Provision shall be made for placing in the hands of the Commissioners the value of the notes thus issued by them, one-half in bullion and one-half in stock.

8. The Commissioners shall not issue any notes beyond those so advanced to the banks except in exchange for bullion, or for bullion and stock, as above provided; and they shall retain in their hands the bullion and stock so received by them.

9. If by reason of a fall in the market price of British Government stocks the stock held by the Commissioners shall cease to be equal in value to the notes it represents, it shall be their duty to purchase additional stock to make up the deficiency; and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury shall be empowered to issue to them from the consolidated fund such sums as may be required for the purpose. But none of the stock held by the Commissioners shall be sold in consequence of its having risen in price.

10. If at any time the bullion shall fall to less than one-third of the total amount of stock and bullion held by the Commissioners against notes they have issued, they shall sell stock in order to purchase enough bullion to bring it up to that proportion.

11. Branch offices for issuing and receiving notes of the national currency shall be established by the Commissioners in Edinburgh and Dublin, and in such other towns as Her Majesty may from time to time direct by Order in Council.

12. The dividends on the stock held by the Commissioners shall be applied in the first instance to provide for the expenses of their office, and the balance, if any, shall be paid to the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt. The same rule shall apply to any interest received on notes advanced to the banks.

13. In England no notes for less than £5 shall be issued, but in Scotland and in Ireland the Commissioners shall issue £1 notes also.

borer, either alone or in association with others, to protect his own privilege to work, to say what wages he shall ask, how many hours he shall labor, whose offer of employment he shall accept, &c. He has as much right to do this as the lawyers or the physicians of any locality have to agree upon the rate of their fees and the other regulations which are customary with them. But the undertaking to say that other people—boys or grown up men—shall not avail themselves of their own legal right to labor as they please, or that others still shall not employ those whom they prefer, this is a wholly unwarranted proceeding, and is, in fact, the very essence of despotism, which never ought to be encouraged or allowed in a republic.

Aside from its hateful arbitrariness, it is detrimental in every point of view. It prevents the various mechanic trades from keeping up with the progress of the age, by excluding that free competition among the bright ambitious youth of the country which is the best hope of progress at our command. The consequence is, a marked falling off in workmanship in nearly all branches of mechanical industry, too much disposition to shirk in the amount of time and skill given in return for pay, and less of that honest pride in his vocation which used to characterize every workman and commanded the respect of all. Again, when native boys are thus excluded from the mechanic trades, their places are largely supplied by foreigners who can rarely take the interest in their work or attain to that mastery of their business which would have been the case with American youth growing up amid the strongest incentives to do their best. Too often now the latter have to join the altogether over-crowded throng who are pushing for clerkships and other dependent situations which do not begin to open the chances for usefulness and self-reliant manhood which might have been furnished by the mechanic arts in the condition which they properly ought to occupy under our free institutions. This is a matter which peculiarly interests our workingmen whose families are growing up around them, and it is astonishing that they should allow themselves to be blinded thereto by temporary influences or the instigations of artful demagogues. We believe that in time they will grow wiser, and, in looking out for the welfare of their children, will benefit the whole community.

TRADES UNIONS AND THE RIGHTS OF BOYS.—If any class of the community should have a chance, it is the boys. They are to continue longer on the stage than any others, and the welfare of society is peculiarly bound up in their right starting and training. Particularly ought they to have in the fullest degree that ordinary right of earning their own living, or of getting ready to earn it. It is well known that many of the so-called labor organizations are hostile to this, as is seen in their frequent attempt to forbid employers taking apprentices, or to limit the number of the latter in various branches of business. To such an extent has this domineering assumption reached, accompanied by such acts of injustice and even violence, that the Judiciary Committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature has reported a bill on the subject. It declares all combinations or associations unlawful which have for their purpose the prevention or discouragement of the apprenticing of minors in any trade or occupation. Under its provisions any person who, either "as an individual or as a member of any association, shall 'attempt by any means whatever to prevent any mechanic, employer, or person having charge of any manufacturing business, from taking as an apprentice any minor whose parents or guardians are desirous of apprenticing said minor,'" shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to fine and imprisonment.

Probably the statutes of most States as they stand are sufficient to guard against the abuse aimed at in this Pennsylvania bill; if not, they ought to be amended. No one questions the right of every American la-

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EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE BLACK HILLS INDIAN TITLE.

As it is desired to open up this section of the Western country to settlement the President has in contemplation the propriety of appointing three commissioners, who are to proceed at once to negotiate with the Sioux Indians for the sale or surrender of the title of this Black Hills region to the United States. This is the only way in which the country thus owned and now in possession of the Indians can be acquired so as to admit of white settlement.

In connection with this movement Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, who is familiar with Indian affairs, states that the ratification of the treaty with the Sioux Indians was duly passed upon by the United States Senate on February 16, 1869. It was made April 29, 1868, and proclaimed in due course by Andrew Johnson, as President of the United States, on February 24, 1869. The whole text will be found in the Statutes at Large, volume 15, pages 635 to 645. This removes all doubt from the title of the Indians, and by the treaty they have a vast tract of land, the large part of which is known for more than one hundred miles by twenty-five as the "Little Swamp Lands." Back of them, for a region containing several square miles, are what are known as the Black Hills.

Senator Ingalls further says that of this tribe, numbering about 60,000, there are about 10,000 who have always been unruly and have given great trouble to the border of Kansas and others of the States where the settlers have periodically been driven off by the Indians. As soon as the Senate adjourns, he says, he is going among the settlers and will advise them to put themselves at once in a state of defense by arming themselves and building stockades here and there in which the women and children of the settlers may take refuge in case of attack by the Indians. He says that accounts from the frontier inform him that the Indians are provoked by the invasion by settlers and miners upon the Black Hills, and he looks for serious troubles when they shall become aroused, as

appears probable from latest accounts near at hand. Senator Ingalls is evidently much concerned for the people on the borders of his State should the Sioux take the war path.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

RATIFICATION OF THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

The Senate in executive session has ratified the Hawaiian treaty by a vote of 51 to 12. The treaty provides for the admission of the principal products of the Sandwich Islands—sugar, molasses, wool, &c.—into the United States ports free of duty, and certain American products are to go into the Hawaiian ports upon the same terms. Two amendments were made by the Senate. The one places tobacco in the list of articles to be admitted free into the Hawaiian ports, and the other provides that while this treaty remains in force the Hawaiian government shall not grant or lease to any other nation except the United States any harbor for a naval station, or give any other foothold or special privileges not now granted. The treaty is to remain in force seven years, and as long thereafter as the two nations shall fail to give notice of its termination. After the first seven years, one year's notice is to be given by either party to render it inoperative. The ratifications are to be exchanged within eighteen months after the date of its negotiation, or before July 30, 1873.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

BONDS FOR THE SYNDICATE.

Three Treasury clerks sailed from Philadelphia on Wednesday, March 17th, in charge of \$10,000,000 of funding bonds for the syndicate in London. This is the first installment of the last \$25,000,000 worth subscribed for that has been sent out.

RENEWING THE NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

The national bank redemption agency of the Treasury is now redeeming, assorting, and delivering for destruction and replacement with new notes half a million dollars daily in national bank notes unfit for circulation, and the amount so delivered and assorting since the 1st of July last is \$72,410,495, all of which has been replaced by new notes.

NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

The total amount of new national bank circulation issued for the month of March will be about \$1,300,000, which will necessitate the retirement of over \$1,000,000 in legal tenders.

INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS.

A comparative statement, prepared by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, of the collections for the first seven months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874 and 1875, shows as follows: 1874, \$57,531,813 44; 1875, \$61,596,618 28.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

A BLACK HILLS GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Impressed with the necessity of securing to the Sioux Indians all rights guaranteed to them by the treaty of 1858, and appreciating the duty of considering the public sentiment in reference to the Black Hills country, growing out of its supposed mineral wealth, the Interior Department will dispatch W. P. Jenney, a competent geologist, to examine that country and ascertain accurately its alleged mineral wealth. Meantime the Department has notified the Secretary of War of this purpose, and will ask for an order requiring trespassers now in the country to leave immediately, notifying them that the failure to comply with such order will cause their expulsion by military force as soon as the weather will permit a military expedition to reach them. The President appreciates the importance of extinguishing the Indian titles as soon as it can be done honorably and with the consent of the Indians, but the Government is fully determined to protect the Sioux in their treaty rights, and to prevent all persons from going to the country until the Indians voluntarily relinquish it. Steps are now in rapid progress to negotiate with the Indians for this purpose, but all persons are warned against going to that country until such negotiations are successful, and persons now in the country are notified to leave it immediately, and, failing to do so, their expulsion will be effected by force, if necessary.

NEW COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

Mr. Henry M. Atkinson, nominated by the President to be Commissioner of Pen-

sions, vice J. H. Baker, made surveyor general of Minnesota, was formerly register of a land office in Nebraska. He was also one of the commissioners on the part of the United States to remove the Kickapoo Indians from Mexico a year or two ago. He is a young man of more than ordinary ability.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

RANK OF RETIRED ARMY OFFICERS.

General orders No. 33, from the War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, March 23, 1875, says:

"By direction of the President, and conformably to the act approved March 3, 1875, entitled 'An act for the relief of General Samuel W. Crawford, and to fix the rank and pay of retired officers of the army,' the retired list of the army, under the heading 'Officers retired with the full rank of the command heretofore held by them when wounded, in conformity with sections 13 and 17 of the act of August 3, 1861, and section 32 of the act of July 28, 1853,' is amended to fix the rank of the following-named officers, from March 3, 1875, as below enumerated: Brigadier generals, heretofore major generals—Thomas J. Wood, Richard W. Johnson, Eli Long; colonels, heretofore brigadier generals—Joseph B. Kiddoo, William F. Lynch, Samuel Ross; lieutenant colonels, heretofore colonels—George W. Gile, John Pulford; major, heretofore colonel—Henry W. Freely; captain, (mounted,) heretofore lieutenant colonel—Thomas E. Maley; captains, heretofore colonels—Theodore Yates, Albert W. Preston; first lieutenants, (mounted,) heretofore captains, (mounted)—Paul Quirk, David H. Cortelyou; first lieutenants, heretofore captains—Robert Davis, Henry H. Huhn, James B. Sinclair; heretofore first lieutenant, (mounted)—Edward B. Knox; second lieutenant, heretofore second lieutenant, (mounted)—James Davison."

INDIAN RIGHTS MUST BE RESPECTED.

The Secretary of War has addressed a communication to General Sherman, saying: "All expeditions into that portion of the Indian Territory known as the Black Hills country must be prevented as long as the present treaty exists. Efforts are now being made to arrange for the extinguishment of the Indian title, and all proper means will be used to accomplish that end. It, however, the steps which are to be taken toward the opening of the country to settlement fail, those persons at present within that territory without authority must be expelled."

NAVY DEPARTMENT.**OUR EUROPEAN FLEET.**

A dispatch to the Navy Department from Rear Admiral Worden announces his arrival at Ville Franche, in the flag-ship Franklin, on the 25th of last month. After the departure of the Powhatan on the 8th of February, the Franklin remained at Lisbon until the 11th, and on that day sailed for Tangier, where she arrived on the 13th. Admiral Worden paid an official visit to the Minister of State, temporarily residing there in the absence of the Governor, and was received by him with great courtesy, and with many expressions of good-will toward the United States as a country which had always been in friendly relations with Morocco.

THE TRANSIT OF VENUS.

The Secretary of the Navy has received the report of the observers of the transit of Venus who were stationed at the various observing points. All the parties report that the observations were very successful.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.**PREPARATIONS FOR THE CENTENNIAL.**

Preparations are being made by the executive departments to take part in the Centennial Exhibition, \$505,000 having been voted by Congress for that purpose. The railroad companies have proposed to the Post Office Department to build a magnificent postal railway car, in which the entire system of carrying and sorting the mail while under way will be exhibited. It is also proposed to extend the free delivery system to the Centennial grounds, so that the exhibitors may be accommodated with an early delivery of letters and the workings of the system be exhibited at the same time.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE.
THE FIVE PER CENT. PACIFIC RAILROAD SUITS.

The Attorney General has given instructions to the proper district attorneys to institute suits against several of the Pacific railroads for the amounts certified by the Secretary of the Treasury to be due to the Government for five per centum of their respective net earnings, provided for by the act of July 1st, 1862, or by any other act or acts in relation to the respective railroad companies. The

following are the railroad companies against which suits will be immediately instituted, with the amount for which the suits are brought: Central branch Union Pacific Railroad, \$47,197 39; Sioux City and Pacific, \$21,104 42; Union Pacific, \$1,040,056 29; Kansas Pacific, \$308,830 13.

U. S. SENATE—EXTRA SESSION.
SENATE COMMITTEES TO SIT DURING THE RECESS.

The special session of the Senate has authorized the following committees to sit during the recess: The special committee, consisting of Messrs. Boutwell, Conkling, Allison, Merrimon, and Eaton, appointed to examine the several branches of the civil service with a view to a reorganization of the several departments, with power to employ a stenographer, to administer oaths, and to send for persons and papers; the committee to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate, which is composed of Messrs. Jones, (Nev.,) Dawes, and Dennis; the Joint Committee on Printing, Mr. Anthony, chairman; and the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, chairman.

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE.

The Committee on the Civil Service, which has authority to sit during the recess, will remain here for a time after the adjournment of the Senate to pursue their investigations. The committee will attempt to discover what changes, if any, can be made in the organization of the departments to add to the efficiency of the service and reduce the expenses of the Government. The committee will make a preliminary examination now, and will, later in the season, renew their labors so as to report at the opening of the next session.

U. S. SUPREME COURT.
AN IMPORTANT DECISION.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Blake, collector, vs. The First National Bank of the city of New York, holding that the incomes of banks, railroad companies, and other corporations, for the last five months of the year 1871, were subject to an internal revenue tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., secures to the Government about three million dollars.